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Special Army Units Established To Combat Crime

AU2212145094 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 3 Dec 94 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Antidrug Force in Army. New Criminal Police Created"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Tirana—The fight against crime in the Army: Under an amendment to the law on the national intelligence service in the Armed Forces, special units will now operate in the army to detect and forestall acts of trafficking in arms and strategic materials.

These specialized units will be set up and will operate within the army as a military criminal police force. They will be allowed to operate in every part of the Albanian Army and will be empowered to investigate and make thorough inquiries to detect and curb any individual or organized criminal or terrorist activities within the army. [passage omitted]

The duties of the military criminal police will also include combating drug-trafficking, another potential threat that is not unknown in Albania. [passage omitted]

Greek Military Attache To Be Allowed To Return

AU2212204594 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The ALBANIAN TELEGRAPHIC AGENCY reports that the Albanian Government has decided to allow the Greek military attache to return to the Greek Embassy in Tirana. Albanian Deputy Foreign Minister Arian Starova summoned the Greek ambassador in Tirana, Khristos Tsalikis, to the Foreign Ministry today and notified him of the decision.

Starova told the Greek ambassador that this action is taken proceeding from the desire to begin moving further along the road toward normalizing relations between the two countries.

The Greek ambassador welcomed this gesture by the Albanian side.

Government Takes Measures To Help Flood Victims

AU2212135894 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 14 Dec 94 p 1

[Announcement by presidential press office on the strike in Kukes; place and date not given: "Residents of Flooded Areas Will Be Fully Compensated"]

[FBIS Translated Text] President Sali Berisha received Skender Jaku, Shefqet Hoxha, and Mustaf Mustafa, deputies representing areas affected by flooding from the hydroelectric power plants. The president told them he has asked the government to implement his decree on helping families whose lands have been flooded by the waters of the hydroelectric power plants, and the government has accordingly decided as follows:

1. To grant loans to eligible persons, in accordance with the law, through the National Housing Institution. The government has initially allocated 200 million leks for families that need to be evacuated urgently.

2. To work intensively to identify other measures that will gradually, in accordance with the law, bring about full compensation of the losses suffered by the inhabitants of the flooded areas.

FRY Request for Improved Relations Rejected

AU2212145194 Tirana GAZETA SHQIPTARE in Albanian 3 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Fatos Baxhaku: "Invitation From Montenegro: 'Our Ministers Should Meet'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Tirana—Montenegro is seeking to improve its relations with Albania, at least in the sphere in which it thinks this may be easier to achieve: namely, culture. A few days ago the Albanian Embassy in Belgrade was handed an official letter containing a proposal from the small mountain republic: "The culture ministers of our two countries should meet in Podgorica to discuss matters of common interest."

Hundreds of kilometers away, at the European Council's headquarters in Strasbourg, more or less the same issue was being discussed, but at a more general level. The 42 members of the EC Cultural Committee discussed, among other things, a request by Serbia and Montenegro for the cultural and sports embargo on them to be lifted, and for them to be admitted into this European cultural forum. The Albanian representative on the committee, Ylljet Alickaj, head of the ministry of culture's Foreign Department, rejected the request. "Our condition for satisfying the request to lift the embargo against Serbia and Montenegro," said Alickaj in Strasbourg, "is that the cultural and educational rights of the Albanian population in Kosova cease to be violated, and that there be an end to the insults against the cultural and national identity of the population of this region."

Now it is up to the EC Council of Ministers to decide on the request by the two republics of the Yugoslav Federation. Although the most widely held opinion is that the embargo should be eased—at least in the cultural sphere; and many countries have, through various channels, already expressed the view that culture and cultural relations are no less a factor for peace than the tiresome diplomatic moves, Europe will have to take the voice of Albania into account.

"The chairman of the Cultural Committee, Raymond Weber, undertook to convey our position to the Council of Ministers," Alickaj said.

Albania severed relations with the Yugoslav Federation long ago. The sole official activity that has taken place

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was a boxing match some time ago between teams from Shkodra and Montenegro. This event, which was shown on Albanian television, was followed by a reminder to the Albanian authorities from the commission monitoring the embargo against the Former Yugoslavia that even a simple boxing match was a violation of the cultural embargo imposed by the international organizations. Following this, greater caution was shown toward proposals coming from across Albania's northern border—until this latest one, the reply to which is as yet unknown.

Lack of High-Level Corruption Probes Noted

AU2212160594 Tirana BALLI KOMBETAR in Albanian 15 Dec 94 p 5 (tentative)

[Unattributed commentary: "Is There Corruption at all Levels?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Corruption at all levels was one of the reasons the people said "no" in the 6 November referendum. All the political forces said this, although the ruling political force actually described it as the main reason for the "no" vote by the sovereign people. However, more than a month has passed since 6 November, and there is no sign of who the corrupt people are. The legislature seems to be satisfied, after having approved a law compelling high-ranking government officials to declare their property interests. The government, on the other hand, has undergone changes, but most of the dismissed ministers still hold other, high, positions. The State Control, seemingly in an effort to convince the Albanian people, has rifled the archives for a number of acts of embezzlement committed several months ago by small fry—for example in the cartography enterprise, in Alpetrol, the privatization of the "Durresi" ship, and the maladministration of the RTV [State Broadcasting Corporation] budget funds—all of which were highlighted before, albeit not with this intensity.

That such irregularities were exposed and that steps were taken against those responsible is a good thing. However, it is corruption among the big fry that the Albanian people want to know about. Do such people exist in Albania or not? Since it is admitted that there is corruption at all levels, corruption must also exist high up the pyramid of state.

In fact, what we have is a light smoke screen in the air, with the implication that this kind of corruption can never be uncovered. The days pass, but there is not a single corrupt high official to be seen. Are we perhaps waiting for them to expose themselves when they declare their property interests? This is like expecting a goat to declare how many liters of milk a year it has yielded. We must speak openly and as soon as possible—the sooner the better, otherwise suspicions will be born and grow. If these officials are accused of misdemeanors, what they have done must be stated clearly—and no more than that. No conjecture.

If there is no corruption at these high levels, we must say so loudly. However, neither one thing nor the other is being done, and we will certainly not find out who the corrupt or noncorrupt peoples are before they have eaten their New Year's turkey.

PSD Chairman Denies 'Split' Within Party

AU2212212994 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 22 Dec 94

[Interview with Social Democratic Party chairman Skender Gjinushi by Senka Plaka in Tirana; date not given—recorded; first paragraph is announcer's introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] Developments within the Social Democratic Party [PSD] have been in the spotlight of our media for several days. On Tuesday, the party's leadership council decided to expel Teodor Laco from the post of deputy chairman. Today, several members of the PSD leadership council declared created a Social Democratic Party II. For this reason, our correspondents today addressed the two protagonists—Skender Gjinushi, chairman of PSD I, and Teodor Laco, chairman of PSD II.

[Plaka] Mr. Gjinushi, did the creation of factions in your party bring about a split?

[Gjinushi] It was not a matter of a faction here, because it is known that this began with the matter of a yes or a no to the constitution, and up to this point, it was thought to be only a divergence of opinion. Further, there was an inclination by certain people toward causing a split in the PSD for their own aims. The goal has now become very clear: The idea is to invent another party and justify some ministerial posts. Thus, our national council did not suffer any split, and all the district party branches supported the third national conference and its main decisions. There has been no split in any of the subbranches, except for the case in Tropoje.

[Plaka] With the departure of the PSD's right wing, will there be an inclination for this party to approach the Socialist Party [PS]?

[Gjinushi] This has nothing to do with a left or right wing here, as the PSD has been in unison with its program [word indistinct]. This was revealed during the conference and the preparations preceding the conference. The PSD's position—whether toward the Democratic Party [PD], the alliance, the coalition, or the PS as an opposition party—was not determined by one or two people, the same number of people who left the presidency, but was determined by the national council, the councils of the branches, and the party conferences.

At the third national conference, we said clearly that we do not see any new alliances. There is no place for new alliances. We have not destroyed the previous alliances. Meanwhile, we have declared that the governmental

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coalition did not work, and the PD is to blame for it. As you have noticed, it was the PD who kicked this coalition, and instead of creating coalitions and consolidating them, the PD preferred to cause a diversion in the PSD, and form a coalition with one or two persons and later create parties to justify these kinds of absurd and fictional coalitions.

As far as the PSD is concerned, I would like to stress that it has been, and will remain, a left-rightist party.

[Plaka] At a rally of veterans held some time ago [word indistinct], there were calls favoring Enver Hoxha. PSD leaders who were present in the hall did not dissociate themselves from these calls. What is your pronouncement regarding this fact?

[Gjinushi] I want to stress that we maintain ties with all associations of veterans regardless of their political convictions. Of course, it is unacceptable in the case of the anniversary of a liberation, which was the aim of the meeting, to applaud Enver Hoxha. Anyway, everyone has his own views and convictions. The PSD is clearly determined as regards its stance toward Hoxha, both during the war and after it.

Intellectuals Ask Discussion of FYROM Issue

AU2212145294 Tirana REPUBLIKA in Albanian 11 Dec 94 p 1

[Appeal by the Forum of Independent Intellectuals to the People's Assembly; place and date not given: "Albanians in Macedonia Are Threatened as a Nation"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Mindful of the current situation of Albanians living in Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM], the Forum of Independent Intellectuals of Albania proposes that the People's Assembly of the Republic of Albania convene a special session to discuss this problem as soon as possible. According to reports from Macedonia by Albanian and foreign media, the Macedonian parliament and government, despite their predisposition to peace and good-neighborliness with our country, do not recognize the right of that part of our nation living in its own ethnic teritory in Macedonia to use the Albanian language as a second official language and to set up an Albanian university.

All the signs are that there is no sure prospect for the future of the part of the Albanian nation that lives in Macedonia.

Respectfully,

[signed] Prof. Pandeli Cina, chairman

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BSP Leader Videnov Assesses Election Victory

AU2312085894 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with BSP leader Zhan Videnov by Svetla Belousova; place and date not given: "I Will Not Turn BSP Victory Into Personal Triumph"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Belousova] Mr. Videnov, are you satisfied with the results the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] received in Sofia, where you headed the list?

[Videnov] According to the incomplete data available to me, the BSP achieved a significant advantage in several students' sections—for which I am pleased. I assume that against the background of those results and the achievements of the People's Union, the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] cannot hope for substantial support. There will probably be parity between the BSP and the SDS, and this is an exceptional achievement for us. In Sofia we used to always trail two to one. I am satisfied.

[Belousova] What do you plan to do as a politician in the next weeks in order to prove your own qualities as a politician, this time under different circumstances?

[Videnov] The BSP does not need an excessive personification of the election success. We have experience and bad memories in this sphere, and I think that our experience and memories will play a positive role in checking any personification of the success. I will not turn the BSP victory into a personal triumph, because this is a suicidal, frivolous, and elementary tactic. I want to rapidly direct the BSP Supreme Council toward implementing the functions I used to fulfill in the BSP Election Center. I think that this is the maximum I can do.

[Belousova] As leader of the political force that won the elections, are you ready to become prime minister?

[Videnov] Yes, I have no qualms in this area. Naturally, in the final analysis this must be a party, coalition, and legislative decision.

[Belousova] Do you not think that the party's new face—the entirely new young team around you—contributed to the election victory?

[Videnov] The victory belongs to them and no one else. There is no other generation in the BSP now. I think that no one should be insulted by this conclusion.

[Belousova] Will you seek partners in implementing your government formula?

[Videnov] This is mandatory, despite the fact that for some of them this will be a formal proposal only. I think that we will be able to overcome the tactical blackmail moves based on the threat of political destabilization. [passage omitted]

[Belousova] The BSP will now reassume executive power. Where will you begin?

[Videnov] The country faces a financial catastrophe, a very grave banking crisis, and incredible foreign currency problems. I will place inflation last. The budget is another incredible test. Naturally, land reform must be completed and agriculture must be helped as efficiently as possible. The mass privatization must begin, providing that Indzhova's government does not eliminate the last chance of effecting this in 1995. [passage omitted]

Savov Assesses Election Results

AU2312092894 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with Democratic Party leader Stefan Savov by Galya Nikolova; place and date not given: "The People's Union Will Insist on Returning Land"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Nikolova] Mr. Savov did you anticipate such a result for the People's Union?

[Savov] Honestly, yes. I even think that the result we have now (the night between 18-19 December), will improve slightly, because we have a strong influence in the villages and small towns.

[Nikolova] You described the result the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] achieved as a defeat. Do you think that if the Democratic Party would have remained in the SDS the results would have been different?

[Savov] If we could have done something we would have remained in the SDS coalition. We left the SDS after we demanded an analysis of the situation in the SDS. I am terribly disappointed by the fact that today in the words of Filip Dimitrov and the leaders of the National Coordinating Council there is no repentance and willingness to assume the responsibility which every politician should assume under such circumstances. This result is not merely a defeat, this is a debacle and it is absolutely clear what should be done.

[Nikolova] How do you plan to cooperate with the SDS in the legislature, as it is not very probable that the present leadership of the National Coordinating Council intends to resign?

[Savov] It will be very difficult. This group, which held the entire Coordinating Council and even the SDS as hostages, does not want to admit its defeat and withdraw. This is not honest. [passage omitted]

[Nikolova] What will be the first steps of the People's Union in the assembly?

[Savov] It is difficult to say at this stage. This will be the third assembly in which I will be a deputy. First, let the National Assembly convene. However, I could already say that the People's Union will oppose the recommunization. We will insist on returning the land and continuing the restitution. We will struggle with all our forces for the creation of a middle class.

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BBB Leader Assesses Elections

AU2312092794 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with George Ganchev, Bulgarian Business Bloc leader, by Rumyana Strugarova; place and date not given: "George Ganchev Claims Role of 'Prudent, Worldly Balancer'"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Strugarova] Mr. Ganchev, it is clear that five parties and coalitions will form the 37th National Assembly. Will you form a coalition with any of them?

[Ganchev] I doubt it. As long as there are still people in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] like Lilov, Lukanov, and Pirinski, who are related to Todor Zhivkov's time, and who do not have the moral right to rule, George Ganchev will not form any coalition with them. I declared this to them already in 1991. If the BSP wants to rule Bulgaria—they may have it I hope they enjoy it. The same applies to the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Three persons there should resign—Filip Dimitrov, Ivan Kostov, and Ivan Kurtev, because they gave up the power without a fight in 1992. In addition, Ivan Kostov must apologize for his insolent lie, namely, the claim that in Plovdiv the Bulgarian Business Bloc [BBB] has joined the SDS. Only so could ethics be restored in politics. It is not true that we all are rascals. If they do not form a cabinet, we will form it. Remember this!

[Strugarova] Does it mean that you see no possibility of forming a coalition?

[Ganchev] The others should make the concessions we asked them to make. Those are things that the Bulgarian people do not have at present the force to ask them, although they fully agree with us. We do not have enemies in the other parties, such as the People's Union. It is their behavior that would determine whether our contacts will be positive or negative.

[Strugarova] How do you see your relations with the Rights and Freedoms Movement [DPS]?

[Ganchev] Relations with them will be a peripheral matter. I think that it is a mistake to create a "ghetto" for the diligent and honest Bulgarian Turks, who have so many children. The same applies to the Gypsies. [passage omitted]

[Strugarova] What role do you see for yourself in the parliament?

[Ganchev] I see my role as a prudent, and most of all, worldly balancer, who will work for the interests of Bulgaria, rather than for his personal or party goals. I am pleased with the fact that the third force in parliament will not be a Turkish party based on a religious and ethnic foundation, which contradicts the country's Constitution, but a Bulgarian party of patriots, who want the economy to lead the country and not the other way around. [passage omitted]

SDS Defeat Viewed

AU2312093094 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 94 p 6

[Commentary by Valentin Stoev: "With Much and For Long Time?"]

[FBIS Translated Text] If we could paraphrase the famous slogan of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] after their victory in the previous election—"Not With Much, But Forever," today, after the defeat in the elections the same famous slogan could be turned around to say "With Much (and apparently) For a Long Time."

The SDS lost the elections and this is no surprise for every logically thinking Bulgarian. It is the crushing gap between the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] and the SDS that surprised the people. Even the victors were surprised. Thus it became clear that the symptoms, which indicated for a long time that the SDS is ill, were correct.

Anyway, the blue [SDS] idea was slowly passing away. It excused many mistakes and offered a only faint resistance when many of its limbs were cut away. Finally, the hope of more than half of the people was left without a soul. It was usurped by outcasts, who imbued the SDS with revenge, hatred, and stupidity.

The Socialists rejoice, but they must know that they won not because they were very strong, but because their opponents were very weak. Those who claim that the SDS defeated itself, also are not far from the truth.

Naturally, resignations are an outcome, but it has only a personal character. The resignations will not fill again the empty squares. The people who used to fill them in the past have been deceived. Somehow, the defeat of the SDS also is a defeat of democracy, because they were the only ones who completely identified themselves with the democratic idea. Is everything not starting from null again?

BSP Victory Viewed

AU2312094094 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 20 Dec 94 p 6

[Commentary by Svetoslav Terziev: "World Was Not Surprised"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The world was not surprised by the victory of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] in the elections because in the last two years the return of the leftist forces to the power is a common tendency in East Europe. The great difference in the votes between the BSP and the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] also is not surprising. In their analyses the West's media clearly grasped the disappointment of the Bulgarian people with the crisis that has now continued for five years.

The BSP assumed power not so much by effecting a skillful propaganda, but by the force of the objective

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processes, which also entrusted the party with responsibility for the country. In the future everything will depend on the personal qualities of those who assume the crucial posts. If in certain countries the Socialists are ruling well, it does not mean that the same will happen in Bulgaria only by force of objective processes.

Europe respects the democratic vote of the Bulgarians. However, it will positively approve the BSP's policy only if the party demonstrated professionalism and responsibility. It is especially important who the foreign minister will be. Recently Bulgaria lost a lot of face because of the actions of unprofessional people and people thrown up by chance. However, the BSP should not use the pretext of professionalism in order to bring back the old nomenklatura cadres, who would create the impression of restoring the recent past. It is imprudent to try and advance by using the reverse gear, as the rule of the SDS and the others who longed for the period of 50 years ago showed.

Foreign Minister Stanchov Views Policy, Future

AU2312095194 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 21 Dec 94 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Ivan Stanchov, by Karamfila Kostova, BTA correspondent; place and date not given: "We Want To Continue Prudent Policy Toward Bulgaria's Neighbors"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Kostova] Mr. Stanchov, could you assess what Indzhova's cabinet has done so far?

[Stanchov] I leave the assessment to the prime minister. I could only say that in anything related to the elections we did everything in order to guarantee their honest character. All the colleagues worked in a diligent manner and I hope that we accomplished something. We still have another month and a half, and I am an optimist. The crime rate has already decreased, and this was one of the cabinet's main goals.

[Kostova] How do you view the reproach that you are assuming more prerogatives than a caretaker cabinet should assume?

[Stanchov] I think that when one assumes a job—and it makes no difference whether that of a gardener or a prime minister—he must do this job correctly. Does it mean that if the gardener has been hired for only three months he should not plant something that will bear fruit only after 10 years?

[Kostova] Lately reports appeared in the press, according to which there will be structural changes in the Foreign Ministry.

[Stanchov] I always tell my friends, the journalists, that I am glad when they ask me about the Foreign Ministry. Otherwise I would not know what to do on the next day. Thus, I can read the newspaper and then implement the journalists' instructions.

Our goal is to enter Europe. We want to continue the prudent policy toward Bulgaria's neighbors. This is a very prudent and balanced policy. We have good relations with all neighbors. There are no disputes and this reflects in our relations with other states. They also highly assess this fact.

[Kostova] There are claims that you implement somebody's orders.

(Stanchov] I already stated our goal. In order to achieve something one must be organized. If two or three people are replaced this does not mean a structural change. This is something very normal in any business or department. If someone is very good, he should be promoted, and if he is very bad—he should not be there. This has nothing to do with structural changes or politics.

[Kostova] Will new ambassadors be appointed?

[Stanchov] Yes, yes. There are vacant posts, but I would not like to mention any names. This is a long procedure. Sometimes names appear in the papers, but the person whose name has been mentioned does not receive the post. This is incorrect from a human point of view, and therefore no names should be mentioned a priori.

I could say that the post of ambassador in our structure is the highest award for the most worthy and capable employees, who also are good professionals. There are no big salaries in our ministry....

[Kostova] The people say that when you saw how badly some of the Foreign Ministry employees are dressed, you requested them first to dress properly....

[Stanchov] Strictly between us—perhaps I thought about this, but I did not say anything. I even ask myself how can they dress at all with the salaries they receive....

[Kostova] What will you do after the caretaker cabinet exhausts its mandate?

[Stanchov] I will remain a diplomat for special missions. My career as an ambassador is over. I think that the most important thing is to prompt investments in Bulgaria and I hope to work in this area, which is not an easy one, because it appears that we, Bulgarians, do not like foreign investments.

Third MiG Pilot Dies in Crash in 1994

AU2312120594 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 21 Dec 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Another MIG-21 Pilot Dies"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Late yesterday night the Press Center of the Ministry of Defense announced that Air Force Senior Lieutenant Vladislav Vladimirov Vulchev has died while implementing technical tasks with his MiG-21 aircraft. The pilot had taken off from the Balchik military airport, and crashed into the sea. The

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Air Force duty officer refused to disclose any information about the incident, claiming that it is a military secret.

Minutes after the accident Defense Minister Boyko Noev appointed a special investigation commission. Such a commission usually includes the Air Force commander—Lieutenant General Mikho Mikhov. Minister Boyko Noev has issued a decree posthumously promoting Lieutenant Vulchev to the rank of captain.

The Air Force lost two combat aircraft in 1994, the black statistics show. Colonel Ivan Daev, commander of the airport at Ravnets, Burgas region, died in one of them. In the second case it was Lt. Col. Veselin Petkov, whose MiG crashed outside the city of Rakovski. Afterward, it was established that his MiG should have been scrapped.

Lt. Gen. Mikhov is appealing since 1993 to save the Air Force.

Nigerian Arrested for Narcotics-Trafficking

95P20299A Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 6 Dec 94 pp 1, 4

[Article by Mira Radeva]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yesterday at the Sofia airport, a Nigerian citizen, S.D., attempted to smuggle marijuana that was hidden in 12 blocks of frozen shrimp and pure heroin in a glass container. The Nigerian arrived at 0830 from Harare on regularly scheduled Balkan Airlines Flight LZ 598. The route of the flight in question passedthrough Lagos, where the jet filled up with Nigerian passengers. They use our country as a trampoline to reach western Europe, and, as the customs officials on duty say, it is logical that among these passengers there are also drug traffickers.

The cartons holding S.D.'s valuable cargo traveled alongside the baggage of the jet's other passengers. The odor of the fish and professional intuition led the customs team to pay special attention to the unusual cargo and its owner. While the customs officials removed the nylon wrappings of the already half-thawed shrimp, an atmosphere of excitement prevailed in the arrival lounge among the foreign passengers. A group of blacks who were waiting to meet passengers thrust their way toward the exit when the customs officials began to pull out marijuana wrapped up in waterproof material.

The quantity of the marijuana will be determined after the shrimp thaw completely, but in the back alleys of the capital, already, a marijuana cigarette is said to go for about 200 leva, according to informants. On Sofia's black market, one gram of heroin sells for about 100 German marks. About 50 large capsules, like those for antibiotics, were also found in the Nigerian's possession. Those are multivitamins for personal use—the handcuffed S.D., sitting on the floor in the customs office, tried to convince TRUD's reporter. Nevertheless, the investigative test on the drug will immediately reveal the true contents of the capsules.

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National Council Passes Provisional Budget

LD2212183694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Shortly before 1130, the deputies started a debate about the last point on the agenda of the third session of the National Council. [passage omitted] Ludmila Bulakova and Milan Velecky report directly from parliament:

[Bulakova] [Passage omitted] The last person to take the floor was Slovak Deputy Prime Minister Sergej Kozlik, the proposer of the provisional budget. The vote regarding amendments to the first part of the government bill—the necessary measures safeguarding the economy for the duration of the provisional budget in 1995—took over an hour.

At 1810, 95 of the 141 deputies present voted in favor of passing this part of the bill. Its second part—the bill on measures to safeguard the economy in 1995 and on amending some laws—was adopted by the deputies by the time our program started at 1830.

Subsequently, the third session of the National Council, the last parliament session this year, was concluded.

Opposition Party Cited on Provisional Budget

LD2212155694 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The deputy chairman of the Democratic Union [DU] said at a news briefing that the main reason the DU will not back the government-sponsored draft of the provisional budget is the restrictive nature of the budget, which will gravely affect people and which might stop foreign investments.

Afterward, DU Deputy Eva Rusnakova, speaking on behalf of DU deputies, expressed disagreement and sharply protested practices that have become commonplace in the parliament's sessions. She added that Augustin Marian Huska, the National Council's deputy speaker, who chaired the session yesterday [21 December] breached the law on parliamentary procedures on several occasions by failing to give the floor to opposition deputies. She also said that the ruling coalition is working toward creating a group of privileged parliamentary journalists who will have the right to inform the public about what events in the National Council.

Meciar Sees 95 Percent of Media as Opponents

AU2212144594 Bratislava SME in Slovak 19 Dec 94 p 5

[Unattributed report: "Vladimir Meciar: Slovak Radio Director Is a Man We Have Chosen"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview for issue number 50/1994 of the weekly ZMENA, granted on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of ZMENA's founding, [Prime Minister] Vladimir Meciar said, among other things: "In March, the first fleet of dailies and information media that pursue a certain direction lined up. These dailies and media want to deprive us of our national identity and turn us into cosmopolitans. Words about state and national interests are regarded by them as worthless. What could we do against such an influence? All we had was one cruiser, [the daily] REPUBLIKA, one destroyer, [the weekly] ZMENA, one [cultural weekly] LITERARNY TYZDENNIK, and one [Movement for a Democratic Slovakia weekly] EXTRA S. And, still, we won the elections.

I suppose that, in the future, we will be able to rely on the 800 people in the Association of Slovak Journalists. This is a great number but, unfortunately, their activity is fairly weak. I think that, even in the editorial offices of other publications, journalists can be found who agree with our policy. Alas, they cannot write about it. The access road to radio will be open for us. The director is a man whom we have chosen. The same will apply to television as well.

We expect an institution to be established that will start dealing with the shaping of public opinion. But that needs time. On the other hand, the fact is surprising that, in defiance of that gigantic media campaign against us, people have retained common sense. They compare and evaluate facts and have not fallen victim to that campaign. However, it would be appropriate if the mass media campaign were balanced—if it were at least 50:50 and not 5 percent against 95 percent as is the case now."

Deputy Prime Minister Outlines Economic Measures

LD2212180494 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1600 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Sergej Kozlik, Slovak deputy prime minister and finance minister, has addressed parliament outlining necessary measures safeguarding the economy for the duration of the provisional budget in the first three months of next year, as well as bills concerning this sphere.

In the period of the provisional budget, the GDP is to grow by 3 percent, year-on-year inflation is to be 10 percent, the deficit is to be between 6 billion and 7 billion Slovak korunas, and inflation approximately 15 percent. [passage omitted]

New State Secretaries Assume Office

AU2212151894 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Dec 94 pp 1, 2

[Report by Martin Krno: "Letters of Appointment Handed Over to High-Level State Officials"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Bratislava—Based on agreement reached by the four coalition parties and a resolution passed at the first meeting of the new government, Prime

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Minister Vladimir Meciar yesterday presented letters of appointment to 11 state secretaries, heads of five ministerial offices, and Zdenka Kramplova, who has been entrusted with the management of the Slovak Government Office. The ceremony, which was attended by most cabinet members, was held at the Government Office.

In an opening address, Vladimir Meciar identified the three main tasks of his cabinet:

—stabilizing the political situation and society to prevent the emergence of new political crises,

—reversing the economic strategy with a view to achieving growth and economic prosperity, and

—improving the social system, which should not leave anyone at the bottom but which should at the same time motivate people not to remain apathetic toward their own fate.

On 15 December the government appointed 12 state secretaries, 11 of whom received their letters of appointment yesterday—seven from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Lubomir Dobrik, state secretary at the Ministry of Justice; Jozef Sestak, state secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; Pavol Kacic, state secretary at the Ministry of Interior; Jozef Gajdos, state secretary at the Ministry of Defense; Rudolf Autner and Jozef Magula, who are both state secretaries at the Ministry of Finance; and Pavol Kendra, state secretary at the Ministry for the Administration and Privatization of National Property), two from the Association of Workers of Slovakia (Olga Salagova, state secretary at the Ministry of Culture, and Norbert Benuska, state secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture), and one each from the Slovak National Party (Stefan Zelnik, state secretary at the Ministry of Health) and the Farmers Party of Slovakia (Marian Lipka, state secretary at the Ministry of Agriculture). The third state secretary for the Association of Workers of Slovakia—Jozef Brhel, who has been appointed state secretary at the Ministry of Economy—sent his apologies as he is on a tour of duty in the United States.

The above list implies that no state secretaries have been appointed yet at the Ministry of Labor, Social Affairs, and the Family, at the Ministry of Education and Science, at the Ministry of Environment, and at the Ministry of Transportation, Communications, and Public Works (the post of state secretary at the Ministry of Transportation, Communications, and Public Works is supposedly to be taken up by Marian Vrabec, former deputy for the Slovak National Party and deputy chairman of the Supreme Inspection Office).

Five heads of ministerial offices also received their letters of appointment from the prime minister yesterday—three from the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (Tibor Gaplovsky, Ministry of Interior; Ladislav Slebodnik, Ministry of Environment, and Juraj Kralik, Ministry of Culture); and two from the Slovak National Party (Jan Repasky, representative of the Association of Workers of Slovakia, Ministry of Defense, and Igor Chamula, former deputy, Ministry of Education and Science). Nine seats of heads of ministerial offices thus remain vacant. [passage omitted]

Results of First Post-Election Poll Detailed

AU2212115794 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 16 Dec 94 p 7

[Article by Vladimir Bacisin: "Public Opinion Updated; FOCUS Agency Has Published Results of Its Latest Survey"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The FOCUS-Center for Social and Marketing Analysis agency carried out from 24 November to 6 December a sociological survey of the views of the population of the Slovak Republic on current political issues. The agency addressed 1,370 respondents. The chosen sample was representative from the viewpoint of age, sex, nationality, and size of the respondent's community of residence.

The sociologists asked about the respondents' assessment of the present social system, compared with the pre-November 1989 system. There continues to be a balance between that part of public opinion that sees the positive aspects of the present system as prevalent, and those who see as dominant its negative aspects. According to [FOCUS Director] Zora Butorova, compared with the October 1993 FOCUS survey, the public appears to be more inclined to assess the present social system positively. More than 52 percent of those questioned endorse the view that the current economic changes will bring a better future for their children. An above-average positive evaluation of the present social system prevailed among supporters of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH], Democratic Union [DU], and Democratic Party [DS]. An above-average negative assessment was apparent among potential voters of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS] and citizens who are unable to orient themselves in the present political situation. Between those two groups are voters of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS], the Hungarian Coalition, the Common Choice coalition, and the Slovak National Party [SNS]. Younger people, people with a higher level of education, employees of private firms, and people with "pro-Western" orientation tend to have a more positive approach toward the post-November 1989 regime.

Part of the sociological survey was an assessment of the post- election situation in Slovakia. A similar survey was organized also in September 1992. The average citizen of the Slovak Republic views the post-election situation far more critically than two years ago. The possibilities of economic development and of the development of democracy are being assessed critically. In 1992, as many as 58 percent of those polled assessed the impact of the elections on the development of the economy favorably. Last month only 22 percent did. Two years ago, a

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negative assessment prevailed among 31 percent of respondents, today among more than 40 percent.

People perceive the political situation as unintelligible. As many as 51 percent of respondents are afraid of discussing political issues. The sociologists' attention also centered on the demand to dismiss Slovak President Michal Kovac. This demand is "definitely" supported by 10.4 percent of respondents, "rather" supported by 15.2 percent, "rather not" by 24.2 percent, and "definitely not" by 41.8 percent. Some 8.5 percent of respondents did not assume an unequivocal position on this issue.

The traditional question about voters' preferences for political parties also formed part of the survey. According to the survey, the parties would be ranked as follows [if elections were held now]:

	Percentage	Percentile share only for those who voted in the last elections
HZDS-Farmers Party of Slovakia	22.8	30.2
DU	9.3	12.2
KDH	7.4	9.8
Common Choice	7.4	9.8
Hungarian Coalition	7.2	9.5
ZRS	5.4	7.1
SNS	4.2	5.6
DS	2.8	3.8
Communist Party of Slovakia	2.6	3.5
other parties	6.2	8.2

A total of 16.3 percent would not go to the polls, 3.9 percent did not want to reply, and 4.1 did not know for whom they would vote.

Respondents were also asked for which party they would not vote. The HZDS came first (24.5 percent), followed by the Romany Civic Initiative (12.1 percent), the KDH (9.1 percent), the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement (8.2), Coexistence (7.5), and so forth.

The trust enjoyed by personalities of the present political scene was also part of the survey. Although the respondents were able to name up to three politicians, more than one-fifth of the population of the Slovak Republic does not trust any politician.

Which Personalities of Political and Public Life Do You Consider the Greatest Experts? (in percent)

Vladimir Meciar	16.3
Brigita Schmognerova	12.0
Mikulas Dzurinda	10.5
Jozef Moravcik	9.5
Rudolf Filkus	8.6
Sergej Kozlik	8.4
Ivan Gasparovic	7.7
Eduard Kukan	5.2
Milan Cic	4.8
Michal Kovac	4.7
Julius Binder	3.9
Jan Carnogursky	3.1
do not know	24.6
no one	5.9

[Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 16 December on page 3 carries the following table, based on the same FOCUS poll, which ranks Slovak politicians according to trust. All data is in percent:

Vladimir Meciar	26.3
Jozef Moravcik	17.9
Michal Kovac	17.1
Ivan Gasparovic	13.4
Peter Weiss	9.8
Jan Carnogursky	6.6
Jan Luptak	6.0
Sergej Kozlik	5.0
Vojtech Bugar	4.1
Mikulas Dzurinda	3.9
no one	20.9

More Post-Election Poll Results

AU2212120394 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 17 Dec 94 p 3

[Article by Juraj Alner: "Today's Bread Is Closer Than Tomorrow's, But We Will Not Want To Starve Tomorrow Either; People's Changeable Views in the Mirror of Sociological Research"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In late November, early December, the FOCUS agency carried out an extensive survey of the population's views, some of the results of which we published yesterday. The extensive study, which was made possible by financial support from the American NED and IREX foundations, provides a fairly revealing picture of the spectrum of views among Slovak citizens.

When analyzing the steps of the Slovak Government and parliament, an important aspect is to what extent they are in harmony with the attitudes of the people who elected them. The first clue is provided by respondents' reply to the question how those who participated in the parliamentary elections would have voted one month after the elections. All the parliamentary parties would have received roughly the same number of votes, with the exception of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS]-Farmers Party of Slovakia [RSS] (which

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would have received 30 percent, compared with 35 percent in the elections) and the Democratic Union [DU] (12 percent now, compared with 8.6 percent in the elections). None of the extraparliamentary parties has made any significant headway. This implies that a repetition of the elections in the foreseeable future would have no impact on the distribution of political forces.

It is remarkable that, five years after November 1989, only 37 percent of citizens believe that the present system has more advantages than the pre-November 1989 system (which is less than 3 percent more than in the FOCUS poll of fall 1993!). The politicians have two alternatives. They can either build their concepts on this finding and build into their projects pre-November 1989 principles, or they can strive to change the public's attitude by means of convincing arguments and deeds. In view of the heralded trend of moving closer to the European Union [EU], it is not difficult to guess which alternative our politicians regard as more viable.

The tendency of the population of the postcommunist countries to regard today's bread as closer than tomorrow's manifests itself very strongly in this context. In the ranking of priorities, according to the survey, the top places are held by health care, standard of living, personal security, unemployment, education, the koruna's stability, and social security, while Slovakia's integration into the EU ranks last.

Asked specifically to what extent they trust the EU, only 13.6 percent of those polled said that they trust it "definitely" (one year ago, the percentage was 17.3 percent), while one in four respondents did not know. The IMF fared even worse among our public. It is "definitely trusted" by only 8.5 percent of respondents (12.3 percent a year ago), while 9.1 percent "definitely distrust" it and more than 25 percent do not know.

As our joining the EU will be preceded by a referendum, it will be necessary to hold a lengthy and intensive public debate on this issue for the referendum to have a favorable outcome.

The chaos in people's minds is illustrated also by replies to the question whether the Slovak Republic should seek the fastest possible integration into the EU. The number of people who fully endorse this view is more than twice as high as the number of people who trust the EU. Some 12 percent of people in our country believe that the Slovak Republic's integration into the EU is not in the interest of Slovakia, 24 percent of those polled completely or partly oppose the Slovak Republic's integration into NATO, and 17.6 percent of the citizens of Slovakia favor Slovakia's "closest possible relations with Russia."

When we take a closer look at the category of exponents of those views, we see that 15-20 percent of the citizens of our country have a markedly anti-Western orientation and that it is primarily the supporters of the HZDS and the Slovak National Party [SNS] who think along those lines, promoting orientation toward "Slavic nations" instead. But the most clearly anti-Western thinking is to be found among supporters of the Association of Workers of Slovakia [ZRS]. When we compare specific replies with the popularity of politicians, we will get the following picture. People with anti-Western orientation are attracted most of all by Meciar, Slota, and Luptak, while Moravcik, Carnogursky, Michal Kovac, and Schmognerova appeal to people with a pro-Western orientation. The second group is made up mostly of younger people, people with a higher level of education, and residents of bigger cities.

The Slovak dilemma is that, while Vladimir Meciar has repeatedly officially proclaimed the unequivocal need to become integrated into European structures, the domestic public and foreign observers perceive him otherwise. Therefore, it is the government's and parliament's task, one that they must not neglect, to more emphatically accentuate their targets and the steps leading toward them and, also, to clarify the coalition partners' attitudes. It is difficult to enforce in practice something on which conflicting views exist within the narrow circle of representatives bearing the greatest responsibility.

Asked what impact the parliamentary elections would have on democracy, 48 percent of those polled by FOCUS in September 1992 said that the impact would be positive. In the latest FOCUS poll, only half that number subscribed to this view: 24 percent. After the 1992 parliamentary elections, 43 percent of those polled assessed their impact on Slovakia's image in the world positively. After this year's elections, only 21 percent did.

Three out of four respondents believe that democracy in Slovakia is fragile and can easily be threatened. Reinforcing it, and convincing those who are anxious about Slovakia's future of its reinforcement, is solely in the hands of the relevant politicians.

[Bratislava SME in Slovak on 16 December on page 3 carries a 500-word J. Morhacova report on the FOCUS poll, which reports some additional results. According to the poll, as reported by SME, almost 52 percent of Slovaks do not believe that Vladimir Meciar's new government will survive the entire four-year term; almost 45 percent of respondents assess "negatively" the events in the Slovak parliament of 3-4 November 1994, while only 21 percent assess them "positively"; and "some 60 percent of Slovaks identify at present with Slovakia's independence, while more than 35 percent continue to hold the view that Slovakia's becoming independent was a mistake."]

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Kuncze Views Coalition Issues, SZDSZ

AU2212125994 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 19 Dec 94 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Interior Minister Gabor Kuncze, coalition deputy of the prime minister, by Anna Dano; place and date not given: "The SZDSZ Is Not Dominant"]

[FBIS Translated Text] A heated debate has again arisen between Prime Minister Gyula Horn and Coalition Deputy Prime Minister Gabor Kuncze. The latter called Horn's unexpected announcement on having to pay the 13th month wages of public employees and civil servants by Christmas flawed and unfounded. We interviewed Kuncze on the occasion of the debate and we also asked him about other coalition issues.

[Dano] Did you clarify the causes of the war of words to do with the 13th month wages at the government session [on 18 December] or later with Horn?

[Kuncze] We both avoided raising this issue at the government session. This has to be settled between ourselves and not in front of a larger body. Up to now, our relationship has permitted discussion of the disputed issues between ourselves, and I believe that we will also soon discuss this one. At least, this is my goal.

[Dano] According to some people, the rights laid down in the coalition agreement—the strength of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ] which is bigger than its proportion in parliament—paralyze the government's work. Horn has a number of times indicated that the coalition coordination system has to be changed. What changes would you consider acceptable?

[Kuncze] First of all, the coordination mechanism laid down in the coalition agreement does not paralyze the government's work. Coordination is needed precisely to avoid the unnecessary debates within the government. It is only desirable to change the coordination mechanism to the extent that the parliamentary groups and the experts should also be involved in the legislative preparations performed in the ministries. Both the Socialist and the Free Democrat parliamentary groups require this.

[Dano] In an interview with MAGYAR HIRLAP [17 December], Sandor Nagy, chairman of the National Federation of Hungarian Trade Unions, claimed that the SZDSZ is striving for dominant power in the government. In his radio interview given to the "168 Hours" program on 17 December, Horn commented on this by saying that Nagy's statement on the dominance must have been well-founded. From time to time, at the government sessions he also finds the SZDSZ acting as if it had the bigger parliamentary presence.

[Kuncze] I believe these to be unfounded statements. The Free Democrats are not striving for any kind of dominance. At the time, we were invited for joint governing. This means that the responsibility is joint, and this can only be accepted if the decisions are also jointly made.

[Dano] Horn also said that the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] had never attacked its coalition partner in public while the SZDSZ keeps doing this and Horn does not at all consider this desirable. Do you see publicity as an effective or as a final means in exerting pressure?

[Kuncze] The disputed issues first appeared in the press. Questions raised by journalists have to be answered. The journalists came and asked what I thought of the Prime Minister's Office having issued a statement on the 13th month wages. As a member of the government, I was not aware of the contents of this statement. In fact, I did not even know that it had been issued. I could not avoid replying. If the first statements had not been made in public on these issues—and I can list a few examples: The property tax, the youth policy coordination committee, the freezing of deputies' salaries, and so on—then we need not have answered them in public, either.

[Dano] You criticized Horn for his statement on the 13th month wages and the HungarHotels case [Horn requesting the investigation of the HungarHotels' privatization]. Horn justified his step by saying that the government head has to act when the ministers can no longer do anything. How do you understand this?

[Kuncze] I represented the government's stance when I was forced to say to the trade unions of the law enforcement bodies that there is no money left for the 13th month wages. I do not know whether I should have coordinated this with the prime minister because the decisions on these issues had been made at government sessions. Naturally, I had discussed it with the finance minister. With him, even on 13 December, we stood up from the table believing that there was no way of paying the 13th month wages. Now, if after all this, the prime minister had asked us to prepare a concrete decision for the government session and the public had only been told that, rather than instructing the ministers to pay the 13th month wage, he had told them to review the issue again, then we could have come to the public with a clear and unequivocal decision on 18 December.

[Dano] An issue is brought before the Coalition Coordination Council [KET] if a decision cannot be achieved in the government where you exercise the coalition rights. This means that you must have said no to Socialist ideas on many occasions. How many times did you use your power of veto and in what issues?

[Kuncze] The issues can come before the KET in two ways, in accordance with the accepted statutes. One, when a disagreement arises at the government session and a decision cannot be achieved, and two, if we want to prevent a dispute arising in connection with an issue at the government session. Up to now, I have mostly been able to come to an agreement with the prime

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minister on the disputed issues. The biggest opposition was raised in the issue of the titular state secretary dealing with youth policy.

[Dano] Gabor Fodor, minister for education and culture, has had a tense relationship with Horn almost from the first day; it might not be a coincidence that his name was one of those mentioned as being forced to leave at a possible government reshuffle. In addition to this, the SZDSZ suffered a spectacular defeat at his ministry when the government established the position of titular state secretary for youth policy, in spite of your and your party's protests and veto. Do you, as coalition deputy prime minister, not have a role in preventing or handling these conflicts, or are you so inefficient in the coordination work?

[Kuncze] The Ministry for Education and Culture has been performing the tasks to do with youth policy since 1 October. The organization that used to deal with youth policy within the government ceased to exist on 15 September. Considering this, it was not justified to launch an attack against it at the beginning of October, claiming that it is not dealing with the issues of the youth. As for the certain titular state secretary dealing with coordination, the point of the dispute was whether there was any point in creating a new position in November in place of the one that had been abolished on 15 September, and how the reestablishment of a state secretarial office that had just been closed down a few weeks before can fit in with the government's plans on reducing the various titles, ranks, and state secretarial offices.

[Dano] Although the SZDSZ maintains that the coalition has no alternative, you do not conceal, either, that the scenario for separation must also be drawn up. In the meantime, we have also heard many rumors about including other coalition partners, for example, the Christian Democratic People's Party. Sandor Nagy has also said lately that a more broadly based coalition would be desirable. Does this mean that some strong internal MSZP interest groups do not agree with the government coalition that had not been set up on a very loving basis in the first place?

[Kuncze] The SZDSZ is not preparing the scenario for separation. The SZDSZ's actions are directed at improving this government's work. I would not like to deal with the opinions of the various interest groups within the MSZP. I will adhere to the views of the MSZP's leading politicians, who say that they do not see any other alternative to this coalition cooperation.

Survey of Public Views on Ministers' Suitability

AU2212212894 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 21 Dec 94 pp 1, 9

[Unattributed report: "Fodor Has Been Hard Hit by the Information Error"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The reduced points of Gabor Fodor, minister for education and culture, indicate that the public reacted rather sensitively to the "blunder" committed by the ministry.

In December 1994, as in every month, the Szonda Ipsos [public opinion research company] performed a public opinion survey commissioned by MAGYAR HIRLAP using questionnaires on the population's views on the Horn government's ministers and their ministries. We will call our readers' attention to the fact that the data was collected in the first week of December at around the time of the CSCE congress in Budapest and before the local government elections. We try to increase the reliability of our surveys by, each time, interviewing different groups of randomly selected 1,000 people in all districts of Budapest and in 101 various size settlements in the country; at the same time, the social makeup of the interviewed people regarding the main social characteristics always precisely reflects the proportions within the country's adult population.

The interviewees were able to express their opinion on the ministers and their ministries in a similar way to school marking, with marks ranging from one to five. In accordance with domestic and international practice, the averages gained from the answers will be shown converted to scores from 0 to 100, where 0 is the worst and 100 the best mark.

December was no different from the previous months in that the worsening overall assessment of the government members continued this month. However, a change can be seen in the degree of deterioration: While the cabinet's marks worsened by an average of three points each month between August and November, we only registered a 1.3 point reduction in the past month. As a result, the combined suitability indicator of the Horn cabinet's members is 56.5 points and, therefore, we can say that the public has formed a little better than average view of the government's suitability. Compared to the past, it is new that we can find five ministers whose public assessment has not changed compared to the previous month and, in fact, in the case of [Defense Minister] Gyorgy Keleti, we registered a one-point improvement (although this is well within the margin of statistical error).

However, the seven-point decrease of Gabor Fodor's assessment indicates that the public reacted rather sensitively to the events affecting the ministry. (As a reminder: The blunder committed by the Ministry of Education and Culture during the talks on teachers' wages was blamed on the then-political state secretary, Gyorgy Janosi). Fodor's assessment mostly deteriorated among people with higher education, those who sympathize with one of the government parties, and among middle-aged people (between ages 35 and 50). (The supporters of the Alliance of Free Democrats gave nine points less, those of the Hungarian Socialist Party 12 points less, and middle-aged people 15 points less to

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Fodor than a month earlier). Nevertheless, Fodor is still among those ministers who are well appreciated by the public.

It is generally true that the December reduction in the suitability scores can be mainly attributed to the somewhat more critical attitude of the government parties' supporters. Although we can still observe that the government-supporting and opposition voters have significantly different views, the assessments of the two groups came closer together in December.

Looking at the almost six-month period, Gabor Kuncze [interior minister and coalition deputy prime minister] and [Foreign Minister] Laszlo Kovacs managed to preserve their prestige most because, in their case, the suitability index based on the public's view only decreased by five points each. [Industry and Trade Minister] Laszlo Pal and [Finance Minister] Laszlo Bekesi are the biggest losers of the period, their assessments worsened by 14 and 15 points respectively in spite of the fact that the last month of the year did not affect them in either direction.

The Horn government can certainly be satisfied with its activities in past six months in the sense that the ministers managed to make themselves known to the public. In December, all members of the government became better known to the public, and more than half of the interviewed people were now able to express their views on almost all of them. (Only the minister responsible for national security and the agricultural minister were exceptions to this). People's average knowledge of the ministers approaches two-thirds and reaches almost 90 percent in some cases—like the interior and the finance ministers—and almost every person questioned (93 percent) expressed a view on the prime minister's suitability.

Ministries—The Situation Has Not Changed

The population's satisfaction with the ministries' activities can be said to be average and this has not really changed since the new government was formed. Traditionally, foreign affairs and defense evoke the most favorable reactions, and the activities of the Labor, Welfare, and Finance Ministries create the greatest dissatisfaction, indicating society's sorest points. The party preferences of those who replied influenced views on the Foreign and Finance Ministries the most and the Environmental Protection and Agricultural Ministries the least.

The only noteworthy change in December was the four-point decrease in the assessments on the Ministry of Education and Culture, as a kind of "imprint" of the changed views on Fodor. Here, we can again observe that mainly the government parties' supporters were "shaken" by the aforementioned events.

Comparing the views on the various ministers and their ministries, we can see that people have slightly better views on the personal performance of the leaders than on the work of the institutions. However, this gap became significantly smaller by the end of the year: While the difference was 20 points in August in favor of the ministers, this has been reduced to six points by December because the assessments of ministers have been deteriorating constantly while those of the ministries have not changed.

Constitutional Court Rules on Agent Law

LD2212195394 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Both opposition and government parties are satisfied with the ruling of the Constitutional Court which has declared, that, taken in its entirety, the so-called agent law is constitutional. However, the judges of the Constitutional Court have invalidated, with immediate effect, some of the prescriptions of the law. Attila Kert reports:

[Kert] [Passage omitted] According to the Constitutional Court, the law itself is not in conflict with the Constitution but some of its passages are, for example, the one which determines the range of persons [holding public office] to be vetted. According to the ruling, the past of university and polytechnic departmental heads and leaders of state-owned business organizations will not have to be examined because they are not public life figures.

The Court has given the National Assembly until September 1995 to end the discriminations in the law. [passage omitted] For example, the law prescribes the need to vet parliamentary deputies and state-owned television and radio editors but not leaders of political parties and trade unions, or editors of privately owned television or radio stations. [passage omitted]

According to the Court, the fact that the vetting is conducted by a committee of judges is not in conflict with the constitution or judicial independence. At the same time, the Court ruled that the committee must adhere, in its investigations, to the general rules of state administration procedures.

The Court declared that it was part of the rights of a citizen to control the dissemination of information about himself and be made aware about data related to him. Therefore, it must be made possible for anyone to study the data which concern him.

Jozsef Egner, current chairman of the vetting committee [atvilagito bizottsag], expressed his satisfaction with the ruling. He said that at last inter-relations had been clarified and that the judges could continue their work with reassurance.

Peter Boross, who originally submitted the law, which was then adopted also expressed satisfaction with the Court's ruling. [passage omitted]

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Peter Hack, chairman of the Constitutional Committee of the National Assembly and deputy of the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], had criticized the law on a number of occasions. Now, he too expressed his satisfaction.

[Begin Hack recording] All the arguments which we had put forward against the law are now included in the ruling of the Constitutional Court and in this sense this decision has truly reassured the SZDSZ. [end recording]

MDF Reaction to Foreign Personnel Reduction

AU2212151794 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 21 Dec 94 p 3

[Statement by the Hungarian Democratic Forum; place and date not given: "Personnel Reduction at the Foreign Ministry"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] is deeply concerned about the news on the reduction of personnel in the Foreign Ministry. According to the position of financial circles in the government, the Foreign Ministry exceeded its personnel quota. We think that the number of people the foreign minister needs can hardly be decided by fiscal considerations. We would like to draw the attention to the fact that an efficient foreign policy is of strategic importance for the present and future of the Hungarian nation. Hasty decisions cause irreparable damage to the entire nation.

For a long time, the MDF has been following with concern the statements made by leading government and foreign affairs officials that attest to the fact that the new government intends to fire many employees of the Foreign Ministry. Several lists have been drawn in recent months. The leadership of the Foreign Ministry has already fired every diplomat in leading position who was appointed in the past four years. Such a reorganization of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry affected not only the officials who have been working in the ministry since 1990, but also mostly career diplomats who have been respected ministry employees for decades. It seems that the heads of the Foreign Ministry do not find it enough that the political appointees left the ministry after the elections. This is a questioning of the entire foreign policy consensus and change of the regime.

The statements and actions of the head of the Foreign Ministry in connection with the reduction in personnel give rise to a bad mood and tension in the ministry. The MDF draws the attention to the fact that the broadening sense of insecurity could lead to disturbances in the foreign policy activity as well. It is impossible to carry out a thorough and well-considered activity in the middle of tensions.

The MDF acknowledges with concern that, in the past five months, instead of dealing with basic foreign policy issues, the heads of the Foreign Ministry have been busy preparing and evaluating personnel lists. Five months were not enough to disperse the personnel problems and create the conditions for undisturbed activity.

With this declaration, the MDF also wants to signal that the Hungarian foreign policy is not a matter of pacts among parties, but a matter of the whole nation. We expect from the new Foreign Ministry leadership to subordinate the interests of their parties to the interests of the Hungarian nation.

Parliament Increases Subsidies to Minority Bodies

LD2212230494 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Money ruled in the National Assembly today. In connection with the debate over next year's budget, not only taxes, but also subsidies to minorities, churches, and pensioners were discussed. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent] [passage omitted] There is no obstacle to a vote on the entire 1995 budget next Tuesday because voting on proposed amendments was closed today. The government's proposals were adopted, for example, regarding public service employees. Their monthly basic wage will be 8,500 forints. [passage omitted]

The land tax has been completely abolished. [passage omitted]

The deputies, amending the law on minorities, also resolved that the institutions financed by the minority self-governments will have to be treated in the same way as those non-statal institutions which provide humanitarian services. In other words, the recently elected minority self-governments are entitled to the general normative budget subsidies in the areas of education, culture, and social institutions, for example.

A proportion of subsidies to churches were regrouped. Pannonhalma, the Saint Stephen Basilica, the Tihany Abbey, some Protestant Church schools and colleges will have more money. Less money will be available for the Reformed College of Debrecen and for the maintenance of buildings and furbishing. The Hungarian, Serb, and Romanian Orthodox Churches, as well as the Methodist and Baptist Churches and the Gathering of the Faithful, will receive budget support—and this is a new entry in the budget—for certain specified objectives. [passage omitted]

Bekesi Criticizes Television Management

LD2212210794 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2000 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] According to the finance minister [Laszlo Bekesi], many justified criticisms may be levelled against the financial management of Hungarian

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Television. Laszlo Bekesi said this at the session of the National Assembly in reply to an interpellation which claimed that the fact that the costs of the television program New York, New York had reached 46 million forints was an unprecedented squandering of public monies. The production's budget of 46 million forints was approved by the management of [Gabor] Nahlik [former acting chairman of Hungarian Television].

When the current management assumed office, the size of costs and financial obligations already undertaken had reached 22 million forints already. Therefore, there was no possibility to stop the program, the minister said.

The current chairman of Hungarian Television has ordered an internal inquiry because of the high costs. The result of the inquiry may be expected by the middle of May 1995.

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Walesa Urges Constitutional, System Changes

LD2212175194 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1600 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] In an interview for the radio morning slot "Signals of the Day," President Lech Walesa said that today's political configuration is dangerous and destructive for Poland. In his opinion the governing coalition dominates the parliament to such a degree that it could do anything.

[Unidentified correspondent] The president thinks that in order to gain the balance the parliament should be dissolved. However, at present nobody will be able to take over the power. According to Walesa, the changes should have been made six months ago. The work of government and other central agencies should have been speeded up. The president could not do it because, he said, he had been stripped of those powers. Walesa added that during the period of transition the country needs a strong executive power and presidential system. He did not rule out that he might not run in the next presidential election if the future constitution does not grant the president appropriate powers.

Pawlak on Proposal To Restrict President's Powers

LD2312104394 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0800 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak has refused to comment on the Democratic Left Alliance proposal to amend the Small Constitution in order to restrict the president's role in appointing ministers. In an interview for Polish radio, the prime minister said that the Small Constitution should clearly set out the time-scale for the president to accept or reject a candidate for minister presented to him by the prime minister. It should also establish the rules in cases when agreement on ministerial appointments is not reached. The prime minister said that the Small Constitution clearly sets out the rules for the appointment of the government by the parliament and the president. According to him, the same rule should apply to ministerial appointments. [passage omitted]

Politicians Cited on Walesa-Coalition Meeting

WS2212124594 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 22 Dec 94 pp 1, 3

[Unattributed report: "Politicians on Meeting"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Right after the Sejm meeting between President Lech Walesa and the coalition, TRYBUNA solicited comments from several politicians.

Janusz Piechocinski of the Polish Peasant Party [PSL]: It could have been worse. I think that even though it prepared for the meeting, the coalition did not play its cards well enough. Some ministers unnecessarily spoke about their problems, which are well known. What they should have brought up right at the beginning is, for example, the problem of appointing the new minister of national defense. Both sides used the meeting in their propaganda; however, the president was in a better situation. He is always in a better situation—he is always saying that he cannot do anything.

Aleksander Kwasniewski of the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD]: I am satisfied that the meeting was held, that the dialogue will be continued, and that there still is an opportunity to discuss the budget. I am also glad that the public listened to the debate and that it can now form its own opinion about the various problems related to the budget.

Many arguments were submitted, but the public's response will count as well. Let us wait. What is positive is the fact that when the discussion on the budget started, the president's stance was rather adamant; however, as it went on the president made more moderate statements. At the beginning he said that he would veto the budget; at the end he stated that one should think about it.

Stanislaw Kocjan, deputy chairman of the National Commission [KK] of "Solidarity '80": My commentary is one full of tears. Even though I am not a great supporter of the president, I must admit that we come from the very same movement. I was sorry to see the president trying to lead an expert discussion without being prepared for that. Thus, he played into the hands of the coalition, which can now decide that what it is doing now is quite right. I admire the preparation and the competence of the coalition, but I do not like the fact that it considers its own road to be the only right road. This brings up unpleasant associations to me.

The president neither gained nor lost anything in the eyes of the people. The coalition, however, can certainly say that it scored some points.

Franciszek Stefaniuk (PSL): This meeting did not fully live up to my expectations. I thought that we would make decisions that would specify our activities, especially where the budget was concerned. As it turned out, no decisions were made and no proposals were put forward. I remember the president saying some time ago that everyone is pulling the cart in his direction. Today we would like for all of us to pull the cart in the same direction: in the direction of economic growth, improving the living standards of the people. PSL will certainly continue to search for a joint foundation for an agreement between the government and the president.

Roman Jagielinski (PSL): The president did not explain what his concepts are all about. The last part of the meeting, in particular, proved that the coalition's answer to the people's question concerning next year differed from what the president had to say about it. We reached a certain agreement on at least one thing: more meetings will be held, during which details will be tackled.

Leszek Miller (SLD): I believe that the president expected something else. I think that he was better

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prepared for a discussion on political issues. He was a little disappointed that we were treading on firm ground. I consider it a great achievement that for the first time we managed to present some socioeconomic ideas to such a vast audience.

Grzegorz Kolodko, deputy prime minister and finance minister: Those who pay taxes are entitled to demand that the government run the economy efficiently. People saw where we differ and they can form their own opinions as to the results of the meeting.

From the point of view of the president and several politicians of the coalition and the opposition, the budget is just a fragment of the entire political and public life. For me, however, it will be the main element of economic policy next year. Therefore, I must firmly disapprove of the reasoning, in line with which certain political concessions can be obtained at the cost of concessions in the area of the public finances. One cannot link issues of control over national security, over national defense, or other constitutional issues, with work on economic reforms.

Andrzej Potocki of the Freedom Union: The fact that the meeting was held in front of television cameras made it impossible to exchange views. The arguments presented by both sides missed one another in the air. If the coalition wants to reach agreement with the president, it should not do this in front of television cameras and in such a large group. The president won the day because he looked upon the meeting as an opportunity to talk with people. He was very convincing.

Stanislaw Alot, secretary of KK of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union "S": In this debate Lech Walesa proved to be a good advocate of the union's interests. He did what he was expected to do: He vetoed the law concerning public sector employees and fought for their financial interests like a lion. Now "S" will submit in the President's Office its proposal for vetoing the budget law. This is to be strengthened by a series of more protest actions, under the auspices of "S."

Ewa Spychalska (SLD): I get the impression that things did not turn out the way the president wanted them to—he started with one opinion and ended with another.

I do not think that such meetings can help reach an agreement about specific issues; this one was just another television appearance.

Janusz Korwin-Mikke, Union for Real Politics: It would not even have occurred to me to watch the meeting of the president and the coalition. I believe that it is scandalous to hold political talks in public, when it is broadcast on live television. Instead of substantive concrete talks there are only phrases said especially to please the viewers; there was a lot of brawling as well. Thus, it is a situation when important national decisions are made and the masses are witnessing this.

Tomasz Nalecz of the Union of Labor: I am disappointed! It is difficult for me to find a word to describe the behavior of the president, who had nothing to propose to the nation and to the coalition, the members of which have been democratically elected. He had nothing to propose to them—aside from demagogy and invectives.

The president mistook the multiplication table for economic rules, and thought that inflation might improve the situation of millions of Poles. Especially at the end of the meeting he leveled very serious charges against the coalition: He said that it would take advantage of the appointment of the head of the National Defense Ministry to shoot at workers. I believe that a head of state should not behave in this manner.

In contrast, representatives of the coalition spoke very quietly and their statements were substantive and balanced. However, many fundamental questions remained unanswered. In this context the meeting might be looked upon as a failure of both sides.

Walesa's Popularity Continues To Drop

WS2212142594 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 22 Dec 94 p 2

[Report by "R.W.": "Lech Walesa in the Polls: No Trust, No Popularity, No Approval"—first paragraph published in boldface]

[FBIS Translated Text] A poll conducted in mid-November exclusively for RZECZPOSPOLITA by the Social Research Laboratory [PBS] shows that more than two-thirds of Poles do not approve of the way Lech Walesa is performing his duties as president of the Republic of Poland. Other research confirms that Lech Walesa's critics outnumber his supporters. The president is criticized both as a person (as his poor performance in popularity polls show), and as a high-ranking state official. Walesa is not the most popular presidential candidate for the next term.

Lech Walesa has been doing quite poorly in opinion polls for a long time. In this year's polls, the number of people who approve of his style of governing never reached the 30-percent level, while always more than half were critical. In a poll conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center [CBOS] in November, the president was the least popular representative of the central administration. When asked whether his activities were beneficial for the country, 22 percent answered yes, and 69 percent—no. Meanwhile, nearly one in three respondents polled by the Center for Research on Public Opinion [OBOP] in the same period was for delegating more powers to the president (41 percent wanted more power for the Sejm, 23 percent—for the government). Some of the respondents do not associate decisions influencing the system with any particular head of state.

Last spring more than half of all Poles already declared that of the two presidents of the Republic of Poland thus far, they preferred Wojciech Jaruzelski, one in four

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favored Lech Walesa. The CBOS poll, which was conducted at the beginning of December and examined, for instance, trust in politicians, showed Walesa to be in 14th position (37 percent trusted him, 45 percent distrusted him), just a few places behind Jaruzelski. The poll did show, however, that trust in the current president has risen more than for any other politician in the poll. The reason was probably approval for Lech Walesa's veto of the tax bill and the bill on remuneration in the public sector.

Even after the "rise" in December, trust in Lech Walesa is currently a fraction of that which he enjoyed several years ago. At the beginning of 1992, for example, the president was trusted by nearly two-thirds of the adult population of the country.

Lech Walesa's results are even worse as far as affection is concerned. In an OBOP poll conducted in November, a mere 19 percent declared they liked the president, and 46 percent said they disliked him. At the end of last year, Lech Walesa was liked by 23 percent, two years ago—27 percent.

The above report was based on a PBS poll conducted for RZECZPOSPOLITA on 19-20 November on a representative sample of 1,030 adult Poles, as well as data from polls carried out by CBOS and OBOP in the years 1992-1994.

SLD Warns of Stalemate Over Defense Minister

LD2212220294 Warsaw TV Polonia Network in Polish 1830 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] leader, said that if the agreement with the president as to the appointment of new minister of national defense is not reached, the coalition should return to its proposals to amend the Small Constitution which was put forward in April. The draft amendments prepared by the SLD proposed a restriction of presidential powers.

[Unidentified correspondent] According to the SLD leader, in a country which aspires to NATO membership, the government cannot perform its duties without the defense minister. Yesterday, Lech Walesa categorically said that he would not accept the candidate for this post proposed by the coalition. Aleksander Kwasniewski stressed that he hoped to solve the conflict through talks with the president. If this does not bring any results, the coalition will have to amend the Small Constitution.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] I think that we could go back to what we discussed in April when Mr. Rosati's appointment had been considered and a relevant proposal was put forward by deputies. [end recording]

[Correspondent] In April the SLD suggested stripping the president of the right to appoint ministers and leaving changes in the government to the prime minister.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent, to President Lech Walesa] What would your reaction be if the coalition tries to amend the Constitution?

[Walesa] It will mean breaking the law and we will consider it after it happens. [words indistinct] [end recording]

[Correspondent] In April the coalition agreed with the president that the Sejm majority would not amend the constitution without the president's consent. Aleksander Kwasniewski said that this agreement is no longer topical.

[Begin Kwasniewski recording] We all want all the matters to go ahead so that we don't have these unresolved problems. If the April agreement should lead to a stalemate and lack of decisions I think that something should be changed. [end recording]

[Correspondent] Prime Minister Pawlak did not comment on Aleksander Kwasniewski proposal today.

Pole Arrested in Prague for Explosives Smuggling

WS2312085994 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 22 Dec 94 p 1

[Report by Katarzyna Nazarewicz: "Who is Waiting for Semtex?"

[FBIS Translated Text] An employee of Joy Company Ltd. from Poland has been arrested in Prague on charges of smuggling huge amounts of Semtex—a powerful explosive. The company was trying to sell several hundred tons of TNT to an African nation, with a planned stopover in Croatia.

The Polish Consulate [as published] in Prague did not receive official notification of the arrest. The name of the employee of Joy Company Ltd., a Polish aviation company, who was detained several days ago by the Czech secret services on charges of smuggling 28 tons of semtex and 1,100 guns to Croatia, remains unknown.

Falsified sales documents listed the Chadian Defense Ministry as the purchaser. Most probably the cargo was to be unloaded during a stopover in Croatia, and the guns were to travel on to their true destination.

Since 1989, Joy has participated in the transfer of post-Soviet "flying coffins" to Africa (we reported on the crash of the company helicopter in Africa, which claimed the lives of seven people, in an article entitled "The Wings of Death" on 14 December). The owner of the company, Andrzej Izdebski, has closed his representative office in Warsaw, but continues to operate as an entrepreneur. He was still in the country as of yesterday, although he did say he was "flying away for a couple of days."

This is not the first time Joy has taken part in transporting explosives. Two years ago, it unsuccessfully attempted to sell several hundred tons of dry TNT in

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carts [wozki]. The addressee then was to be a Swiss coal mining company in Kenya. An Il-76 Izdebski chartered from a Ukrainian carrier landed at the airfield in Lawica, near Poznan. The official carrier was LOT, while Izdebski's company leased the plane for purposes of a contract it had signed with the Swiss firm. The plane, however, never departed—the Il-76 did not get permission to takeoff, most probably because the Polish Ministry of Internal Affairs was disturbed by the amount of TNT on board.

Last September, Joy made another attempt to smuggle TNT. An Il- 18, which the company had painted in the colors of Djibouti-based Daallo Airlines, stood for a month at Okecie Airport in Warsaw, waiting to be loaded with explosives. The plane was not allowed to depart—the reasons given were that international flying standards had not been met. The itinerary of the flight provided for a stopover in Rijeka, Croatia.

Polish-Czech Border Parishes Discuss Cooperation

MM2312091694 Opole NOWA TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 14 Dec 94 pp 1, 19

[Report by Beata Cichecka: "Like a Czech With a Pole: Border Parishes Do Not Let Opportunities Slip Through Their Hands"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Representatives of Polish and Czech border parishes met on Tuesday [13 December] at the City and Parish Offices in Prudnik at a meeting devoted to the promotion of the Polish-Czech border region, protection of the environment in that area, and the construction and modernization of border crossings.

The following participants attended the meeting convened by the chairman of the board of the Association of Parishes of the Opole Silesia Region: Piotr Uzel, delegate of the Czech Republic Ministry of the Economy; the mayors of Zlate Hory and Jesenik; representatives of the Sumperk and Bruntal districts; and the mayors of Prudnik, Nysa, Otmuchow, Paczkow, Glubczyce, Glucholazy, Kietrz, and Lubrza.

The meeting's agenda included, among other topics, discussion of plans to publish a bilingual tourist information manual devised to promote the attractions of the landscape and the recreational potential of border parishes. According to earlier decisions, one half of the guidebook will be printed in Poland and the other half in the Czech Republic. Publication costs were calculated at 120 million zlotys [Z]. With the help of a subsidy granted by the Ministry of the Economy, the Czech side has already printed the cover (in color) and an illustrated inset with a detailed guide to the winter tourist attractions and facilities on offer. These were presented to participants at the meeting. Unfortunately, Poland did not receive the expected subsidy of ECU2,000 from the Foundation for the Development of Local Democratic Structures. Consequently, the local self-government bodies of the eight border parishes involved in the scheme will be forced to resort to their own budgets to find the money needed to draw up a Polish-Czech map of the area.

It was agreed that the guide and information manual must be published before the Brno Tourist Fair, which starts on 12 January 1995. The relevant parishes accepted the final deadline of 5 January 1995.

Another subject under discussion was the possibility of increasing the number of border crossings. This will be done by both setting up new border crossing posts and reopening old railroad crossing facilities. The latter, such as, for example, the old Glucholazy-Mikulovice or Glubczyce-Krnov crossings, will be adapted to the requirements of highway traffic. The existing rail tracks will be covered up and the new highways will be built over them.

It has been agreed to open a new border crossing for cargo traffic between Konradow and Zlate Hory on 1 March 1995. The Czech side has already completed its part of the task, while the Polish side must still build a beltway to relieve the center of Glucholazy of the expected increased vehicle traffic directed to and from the two border crossings in the area.

The Czechs, who have completed the construction of the entire complex of the Paczkow-Bily Potok crossing, applied for the scheduled opening date to be brought forward from 1 June 1996 to November next year. This means that the Polish side will have to hurry up with the construction of the new highway and the supply of such facilities as power lines, water mains, telephone connections, and so on all the way to the border complex.

Another question under discussion was the possibility of setting up joint Polish-Czech economic ventures, to be modeled on the example of the existing cooperation between Glubczyce and Krnov.

Other matters on the agenda, such as environmental protection and the associated proposal to build a drainage reservoir for the waterways situated in the Polish-Czech border zone, were held over for discussion in January. They will be considered in detail by a joint Polish-Czech commission scheduled to meet in Nysa.

Also on Tuesday the mayors of the four parishes of Nysa, Glucholazy, Paczkow, and Otmuchow met in Prudnik to discuss the proposed creation of the Inter-Parish Tourist Union. In the original version of the proposal the seat of the union was to be located in the city of Glucholazy, which not only initiated the venture, but also declared that it would supply the premises to house the union's tourist and promotion office and provide the funds to secure its manager's salary. As the Glucholazy City Council did not approve the proposal, the parishes involved appointed the city of Nysa to house and represent the union.

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The union's objective is to promote the landscape and recreational values of the area comprising the four border parishes, to provide exhaustive and detailed information on the tourist facilities available, and to improve the tourist and recreational infrastructure. The parishes decided to allocate Z120 million to the task of promoting the union's development. They are also hoping to secure a significant subsidy for the union from the European Foundation for the Development of Tourism.

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Iliescu Briefs Inquiry Commission on 1989 Events

AU2212145394 Bucharest EVENIMENTUL ZILEI in Romanian 17-18 Dec 94 p 16

[Report by Bogdan Iacob and Andra Manta: "Ion Iliescu Claimed That He Had Great Reservations About the Execution of the Ceausescu Couple"]

[FBIS Translated Text] After many postponements, delays, and pretexts, President Ion Iliescu appeared yesterday before the Commission for Investigation of the December 1989 Events. He arrived at the former Central Committee [of the Romanian Communist Party] headquarters, currently Romania's Senate, at 1555 in an Opel Vectra. Iliescu refused to make any statements to the more than 30 correspondents gathered there, limiting himself to the protocol greeting of "Good day," before entering the door under the balcony made famous by December [whence the revolution's leaders addressed the crowds in December 1989].

The television cameramen were allowed in the Green Hall of the hearing for only five minutes, to shoot a few pictures pictures. Here are some further details about what went on there:

Before the members of the Senate commission in charge of investigating the December 1989 events, Ion Iliescu rejected both the theory of a coup d'etat and that of a spontaneous revolution. The president termed the December 1989 events an "authentic revolution," as proven by the "subsequent changes in society."

Iliescu said that, because he had expected the outbreak of such a mass movement, he went straight to television headquarters (from the Technical and Scientific Publishing House, whose director he was). His political experience and training made him chose the television headquarters before any other hot spot in Bucharest.

Iliescu denied having made any contact with Moscow until 28 December, when he was congratulated by Mikhail Gorbachev over the phone. He also said that Nicolae Militaru [one-time defense minister, later appointed as first post-revolution minister of national defense minister] was not the best choice for the position of minister of defense, but in view of the fact that [then-chief of staff] General Stefan Guse was affected by the ensemble of the Timisoara events and [then-deputy defense minister] Victor Stanculescu was not a troop commander, Gen. Militaru was the only solution remaining.

President Iliescu said that he had had great reservations about the trial and execution of the Ceausescu couple [former Communist dictator Nicolae Ceausescu and his wife Elena], and pleaded for a public trial. However, events back them proved that after the death of the Ceausescu couple, the shooting stopped.

Iliescu said he has no definite opinion on the matter of the terrorists [active during the revolution]. In December 1989, he thought the Securitate was behind the terrorist acts. He said he is convinced that several foreign agencies were active in our country at that time.

Finally, Iliescu questioned commission chairman Valentin Gabrielescu, a National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD] senator, about the commission's leaks of information to the press. He told Gabrielescu that there is a striking coincidence between the PNTCD senator's opinions about the December 1989 events and the press reports on the matter. Gabrielescu told the president that Ion Iliescu is a good politician and that he acknowledges him as the president.

None of President Iliescu's statements was spectacular. On the other hand, none of the questions put to him by the commission's senators was basic or inconvenient. Iliescu did not refrain from giving the commission members some political advice as well. On the other hand, he acknowledged that the state of the Romanian economy is poor and let it be understood that he is not particularly thrilled with the current governmental formula.

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'Further Negotiations' Needed for Cease-Fire

AU2312103794 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 23 Dec 94

[Report by Nedzad Leko on 23 December talks between Yasushi Akashi and B-H Presidency member Ejup Ganic; report contains statements by Ganic and Akashi in English fading into Serbo-Croatian translation—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Leko] After this morning's one-hour talks in the building of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency Yasushi Akashi said:

[Akashi] We have made further progress in drafting the cease-fire agreement which should encompass all of Bosnia-Herzegovina. We are working on (?the shorter) version of the draft document. There are two other articles that are being discussed. I am leaving immediately for Pale for further negotiations and I shall be back at around 1230 [1130 GMT] to resume negotiations with Dr. Ganic and his associates, and perhaps with President Izetbegovic. We still intend to sign a cease-fire agreement with both sides this afternoon.

[Leko] Dr. Ganic said....

[Ganic] I agree with what Mr. Akashi said, however, I would like to briefly address the issue of the two articles. We have proposed [words indistinct] that Mr. Akashi formulated yesterday. We have accepted the articles as defined by the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. Mr. Akashi is now facing problems in Pale. Therefore, it is not we who are trying to change what UNPROFOR has proposed. Yesterday we accepted the articles as drafted by Mr. Akashi.

[Leko] Reporters asked Mr. Akashi what the controversial articles pertain to?

[Akashi] One pertains to the next step in the negotiations, that is, links with political negotiations which would lead to a peace agreement, and how to regard the Contact Group plan in the context. This is an extremely sensitive matter. The other article pertains to prisoners, including prisoners of war, and information regarding missing persons. This is also a very sensitive matter. How do we balance the issue of prisoners and prisoners of war on the one hand, and the issue of missing persons on the other? Based on our talks in Pale yesterday, we have drafted a new text for consultations with Dr. Ganic and associates. However, they prefer the earlier formulation.

[Leko] Yasushi Akashi left the Bosnia-Herzegovina Presidency for Pale with the intention of returning to the Presidency at 1230.

Serbs Sign Cease-Fire

AU2312125894 Paris AFP in English 1253 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Sarajevo, Dec 23 (AFP)—Bosnian Serbs on Friday signed a ceasefire agreement brokered by former US president Jimmy Carter at their Pale stronghold, a UN spokesman announced. United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR) spokesman Alexander Ivanko did not say when the ceasefire was to come into force. Under the deal brokered by Carter earlier this week, the ceasefire between warring Serbs and Moslem forces was to come into effect at 1100 GMT.

Bosnian Serbs Insist on Sanctions Moratorium

LD2312002594 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2030 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—The Bosnian Serb government on Thursday [22 December] welcomed the four-month ceasefire accord for Bosnia brokered by former United States President Jimmy Carter.

The Bosnian Serb News Agency SRNA said the government had proposed that the Bosnian Serbs insist that a moratorium be imposed on the U.N. Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia and the Bosnian Serb republic during the four months of the ceasefire.

The four-month ceasefire proposal advanced by Carter has been accepted by Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic and Bosnian Muslim leader Alija Izetbegovic.

SRNA said Karadzic had received U.N. special envoy for the Former Yugoslavia Yasushi Akashi in the Bosnian Serb administrative center of Pale on Thursday.

It said Karadzic and Akashi were discussing the ceasefire accord that was to be signed at Sarajevo airport on Friday and to take effect at noon (1100 UTC) that same day.

SRNA said the meeting was attended also by top Bosnian Serb officials and U.N. Protection Force Commander for the former Yugoslavia, Gen. Bertrand de Lapresle.

Foreign news agencies quoted Akashi as saying on Thursday that the Bosnian Serbs and Muslims were 'pretty close to the final agreement' on a ceasefire in Bosnia-Herzegovina and only a few details remained to be finalised.

Akashi told reporters after conferring with Bosnian Muslim Deputy Prime Minister Ejup Ganic in Sarajevo that Carter's mediation in Bosnia-Herzegovina had been useful for all sides.

Ganic said after the meeting with Akashi that the two sides were 'very close to agreeing on the text of a comprehensive ceasefire agreement.'

He said he hoped the ceasefire 'will be starting more or less on schedule' at noon (1100 UTC) on Friday.

Akashi is to return to the Muslim government headquarters in Sarajevo after the talks with Serb officials in Pale.

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Casualties Reported in Serbian Shelling of Cazin

AU2212200394 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 22 Dec 94

[Report by Mirza Sadikovic from Bihac]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Today's day in the Bihac district clearly illustrates how the Chetniks are still far from a cease-fire and everything that they have been promising. Bestial shelling of the civilian quarters continued this afternoon, when the Bihac center, its residential buildings and vital installations were pounded by several howitzer and mortar bombs.

The Chetnik artillery from the so-called Serbian autonomous region of Krajina also targeted the center of Cazin municipality. According to still unconfirmed reports, 15 civilians suffered in this shelling, among them also children. New material damages were caused, that is, only few apartment blocks and homes have been left standing, so that [words indistinct] substantial number of families who thus remained without a roof over their heads.

[Words indistinct] is also proven by information about nearly constant [word indistinct] attacks on the defense lines in all parts of the front within the theater of operations of the 5th Corps and especially in Velika Kladusa region, where Martic's Chetniks have been attempting infantry breakthroughs all day long, [words indistinct]

The attacks also continued on Grmusa-Srbljani Plateau, and in Bosanska Krupa and Buzim part of the front. [passage omitted]

Serbian Official Buha Views U.S. Role in Talks

AU2212171494 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Dec 94 p 2

[Interview with Aleksa Buha, minister of foreign affairs of the Srpska republic, by Aleksadar Djordjevic and Zoran Saponjic; place and date not given: "If the United States Wants To Achieve Peace by the New Year"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On the occasion of Jimmy Carter's visit to the Srpska republic as a mediator in the war in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, following an invitation by Radovan Karadzic, we asked Mr. Aleksa Buha, the minister of foreign affairs of the Srpska republic, for an interview, and he accepted our invitation.

[BORBA] Can Mr. Carter's visit to Pale be a turning point in the search for a solution to the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina?

[Buha] The arrival of the former U.S. president can, in any case, mean that negotiations will be resumed, that this round of talks is over, and that a new round of the negotiating process will begin. We still do not know whether Mr. Carter has some new ideas, but his visit is an exceptional event in any case.

The so-called peace process was interrupted five months ago. The Contact Group, which was invited to lead negotiations and to mediate, has not done anything in these five months. This famous group has not even found it convenient to meet with us. In the meantime, some initiatives were taken by the Contact Group and some other countries, the authors of which were Minister Kozyrev and Ministers Juppe and Hurd. I have the impression, however, that they were not authorized by the Contact Group to take the steps, that these initiatives were born only because the Contact Group silently agreed with them.

If the initiatives are summarized, it can be seen that they propose an integral approach to the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina, which means that no plan can be partially adopted or rejected as long as the negotiating process is going on and as long as there is no agreement about every single part of the plan. It is further proposed that the front lines remain as they are now. This is very important, especially because the possibility is excluded that one of the parties to the conflict is cheated in the way that it is offered a part of the peace plan for which it is known in advance that it will be rejected. Apart from that, the parties to the conflict have the advantage of not having to assess parts of the plan, as was the case with the Srpska republic regarding the so-called Contact Group plan. The Contact Group members elaborated maps that they were certain would not be accepted by the Serbs.

This trap, this illogical approach could be improved now, because both parties to the conflict would express their opinion on the whole plan and not on its parts. Apart from expressing their opinion on the maps, they would also say what they think about the constitutional arrangement, the cease-fire, and a peace treaty, about a document defining the peace-treaty implementation and about the document regarding the lifting of the sanctions imposed on Yugoslavia—on which we have insisted since the beginning. These parts do not exist in the present Contact Group offer at all; only a constitutional arrangement was offered in the form of a working paper. Knowing how sensitive constitutional matters are, this working paper was practically a farce. Other parts of the plan did not even exist as working papers.

The international community and its unauthorized representatives have offered an integral approach now, which is a step forward out of the present impasse. Unfortunately, the Contact Group has not done anything regarding this approach so far. We have not yet received the drafts or proposals for any of these documents.

Another new move concerns the readiness of the so-called international community, in other words the people in charge of this matter, to treat the parties to the conflict equally. The five Contact Group ministers said in a statement issued at the beginning of December that

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the international community was ready to treat all parties to the conflict equally. This practically means that if the Serbs are to be treated in the same way as the Muslim-Croatian Federation, they have to be recognized by the international community as a state, as is the case with the federation. According to international community documents, the federation is an independent state that came into existence based on the right of the Croats and Muslims to sovereignty. Accordingly, the international community should recognize the Srpska republic. Regarding the maps, it is usually considered that the Contact Group completed this task at least. If you look at the proposed maps, however, you can see that—regardless of the main question of percentages—this task has also not been completed, especially regarding the town of Sarajevo and the district of Sarajevo. Why is it planned that both the town of Sarajevo and the district of Sarajevo should be under UN administration? Later on, the UN administrator can organize a referendum at the level of the district, which can be "adapted," and the whole district transferred to one of the entities. We know to whom. At the beginning, the people from the Contact Group used the argument that the international community could not agree to a division of the town, but at the same time they set a precedent in the proposals for Visegrad, Mostar, and Brcko.

If Mr. Carter sets the whole thing in motion in the directions signalled by the Contact Group—and not only by it—his visit will fulfill its purpose. It is even possible that we could reach a solution soon.

The United States is the factor that can stop or prolong the war. This is our experience, we can prove this. More than a year ago, when the Owen—Stoltenberg plan was on the table for discussion, only one word by the United States would have been enough for the adoption of the plan. If the United States has decided to stop the war now, this is a good occasion, as we have offered a cease-fire. As far as a political solution is concerned, we cannot accept less than the Muslim-Croatian Federation; we cannot accept less than an independent and sovereign country....

[BORBA] What about the territorial minimum?

[Buha] If a concrete answer is required, everybody usually mentions percentages. This is a very tricky indicator, however. Approximately 75 percent of the wealth can be hidden behind 40 or 50 percent of the territory, and the remaining 50 percent "covers" 25 percent of the wealth. This is the case with the Contact Group plan, for example.

[BORBA] You probably mean the problems of a corridor, of Sarajevo, and of access to the sea.

[Buha] Access to the sea is something that has been discussed from the very beginning. It is the part that belonged to the former Bosnia-Herzegovina that has been discussed most. This coast must be divided according to certain percentages corresponding to the agreement for the whole territory. This right need not be materialized in Neum, however.

It can be materialized in a more convenient way for the Serbs and the Croats. I mean the part of the coast west of Prevlaka. We achieved a gentleman's agreement with Mr. Tudjman in this respect. We would get approximately 30 km of the coast west of Prevlaka in exchange for an appropriate percentage of land in the Dubrovnik hinterland, which would, in this way, become broader.

[BORBA] How did Carter come to the idea to get involved, and what is the difference between the former mediators and this one?

[Buha] It is the United States that decides; it made the plan for Carter's visit. It was the United States, too, that made the latest plan. It introduced the Muslim-Croatian Federation into the Contact Group physically and legally without the knowledge of the United Nations, annulling in this way the fiction known as the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and nobody opposed it. This was not even published. The Contact Group tacitly accepted this U.S. step.

It is my impression that the United States dictates everything in the Contact Group. It is supported by Germany, and the other three representatives shrug their shoulders and nod their heads.

[BORBA] Russia, too?

[Buha] Even Russia. Russia, in the figure of Nikiforov, shrugs its shoulders even more than the representatives of England and France.

[BORBA] Were there consultations with Belgrade in connection with the latest Karadzic's six-point plan and with the election of a new mediator?

[Buha] First of all, it is not a plan, let alone a peace plan. These are only points referring to the normalization of relations between the Bosnian Serbs and the UN Protection Force.

[BORBA] How is it possible then that the six points were called a plan and why did negative reactions come, especially from Moscow?

[Buha] I have already explained the confusion with terminology. As far as the reaction from Moscow is concerned, I have the impression that the numerous representatives that participate in negotiations (cochairmen, the Contact Group, or individual mediators) show, I would say, possessiveness—everybody would like to be the boss and be in charge.

[BORBA] Some sort of jealousy?

[Buha] Yes, it could be the colloquial expression.

[BORBA] Is it not the fear that the Contact Group could be pushed into the background if Carter starts working earnestly after this visit?

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[Buha] If Carter's visit brings an equality of position for the Bosnian Serbs and the Muslim-Croatian Federation, this will be a great achievement. This would lead the Contact Group into an unpleasant position; even more because it was they who hesitated to perform this part of the work. It is important to set things in motion, and where the impulse comes from is not that significant. We can perform the task of equalizing our rights with those of the federation anywhere; It may be Moscow, if Moscow is ready to do it. We shall ask all Contact Group members for guarantees everywhere, and if this act cannot be performed in Moscow, it can be performed in the presence of the five Contact Group ministers somewhere else.

[BORBA] It is probably not a coincidence that a man close to the U.S. Administration was chosen as the mediator.

[Buha] It is nothing a coincidence with the United States. Whether Carter has broad powers to propose changes to the so-called Contact Group plan remains to be seen. He has maneuvering space, however, so that he need not return with empty hands.

[BORBA] How do you see the present international position of the Srpska republic in this context. Has there been any improvement?

[Buha] Officially, we are still isolated, but the secret diplomacy has not been quiet. We have had meetings and talks with various representatives in the meantime. It is interesting that Russia did not send anybody, whereas the United States did. The United States even sent [Charles] Redman who is no longer a Contact Group member, but the U.S. ambassador to Germany. Germany also sent certain personalities ranking high in the peace process; France and England, too....

We have had the biggest problems with the economic isolation, however. The situation is like this now: If the big boss in the international community, I mean the United States of America, has decided to bring all this to an end, everything might be over by the New Year, at least the main part of the task. If the United States of America has not decided to complete the war, we shall have to struggle.

[BORBA] Doubts have been heard lately, especially from the United States, that the border between the Srpska republic and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is not closed.

[Buha] The world cannot be pleased regarding this, especially when it comes to the Serbs. I have the impression that the world has something against the Serbs, that it has still not tortured us enough. No matter what we do, it is not enough, no matter how cooperative we are.

[BORBA] What about the sanctions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia against the Srpska republic?

[Buha] They were partially determined by Belgrade, and partially imposed by the international community through Belgrade. This is a proof of my thesis that the Serbs are punished as a nation, regardless of what they do and where they are.

[BORBA] Can we now, after Carter's initiative, expect a meeting between Milosevic and Karadzic?

[Buha] I do not know when it will come to that meeting, because it was not our wish to break the connections with Belgrade. If you ask me, I not only support a meeting between President Karadzic and President Milosevic, I would also suggest a meeting of the parliaments of all Serbian countries or their representatives. If five parliaments expressed their attitudes, this would be of great significance. I do not know whether the Serbian and Montenegrin (and Yugoslav) Parliaments are ready for such a meeting, but I am sure that the parliaments of the Srpska republic and the republic of Serbian Krajina would support it.

President Milosevic insists that the guarantees offered by the international community are enough for the Srpska republic to accept the Contact Group plan. The Srpska republic requires that this be put on paper.

[Box, p 2]

There Was No Meeting Between Karadzic and Milosevic

[BORBA] Italian media have written recently about an alleged meeting between Karadzic, Milosevic, Stoltenberg and Charles Thomas in Karadjordjevo....

[Buha] There was no meeting between Presidents Karadzic and Milosevic. There was only an official meeting between a parliamentary delegation of the Srpska republic and Mr. Milosevic.

[Box, p 2]

There Is a Secret Paper

"There is a document that the Contact Group hid from us (it is still a secret, but I got hold of it owing to my good relations with a man from the Contact Group), from which it can be seen that the Contact Group has, from the very beginning, wanted to call a spade a spade," Buha said and continued: "In the first sentence of that document, it says that the Union consists of the Muslim-Croatian Federation and the Srpska republic. This is the first time that our state has been called by its proper name in a document. When I later asked why that paper was not presented, I was told that the Muslims would have left the negotiating process in that case. I do not know whether the people from the Contact Group and from the federation agreed with it, nor do I know whether there is a consensus on any matter in the Contact Group. I would rather say there is no consensus."

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Railway Workers Suspend Strike for Christmas

LD2312091994 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 23 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] After a 15-day standstill due to the railway workers' general strike, railway traffic was resumed at midnight last night. The Croatian Railways' central strike committee decided that because of the difficulties in road transport, trains will run as usual over the Christmas vacation. [passage omitted]

Istrian Party's 'Autonomist Tendencies' Criticized

AU2312121694 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 15 Dec 94 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Autonomist Tendencies of the IDS Initiative"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The IDS [Istrian Democratic Congress] initiative regarding the County of Istria becoming a member of the Association of Regions of Europe is an expression of autonomist tendencies, since Europeization can not relate only to Istria, but to the whole of the Croatian state, and this process can certainly not be headed by the IDS. This is the HDZ position stated by the head party secretary Zlatko Canjuga at a news conference yesterday. Touching on the general political problems as well as the social phenomena and actions encouraged by other parties and some political groups, which the party in power believes are opposed to achieving integrality and stabilization of the state, Canjuga pointed out the problem of Istrian party separatism [preceding three words in italics], but said he did not believe it could cause the straining of the relations between the Istrian public, Istria, and the HDZ.

The party evaluation of the Istrian initiative was inspired by the recent interview given by Damir Kajin, president of the Assembly of the County of Istria, to SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, in which he mentioned that joining the Association of Regions of Europe meant confirmation that Istria was a political subject. Moreover, Kajin mentioned the intolerant environment that made it impossible for Istria to join the above mentioned association, having in mind, perhaps, as Canjuga said, Croatian politics and the will of the Croatian people to create an integral state in the realization of which the HDZ bore the greatest burden.

Referring to last week's two-day gathering 'The Media, the Society, and the Politics in Croatia', held in Dubrovnik, Canjuga said that it was supposed to partly serve the liberalist orientations in the attempt to relativize the values and results of building the state at all levels, including the media. It was also an attempt of several reporters to present themselves in public as the standard of the freedom of thought and media in Croatia, while in fact they are guardians of socialism covered by Europeanism. The HDZ supports the building of the freedom of the media, which is not negatively aimed at the interests of Croatia. The HDZ has noticed that lately ideas and people have appeared attempting to relativize all the efforts of the Croatian state and the legal authorities. Since these groups, which have a marked Communist, liberalist, and postsocialist spiritual heritage, are not in power, they have started to deny everything positive that has been done in Croatia, particularly if the HDZ is behind it.

The railroad workers, currently on strike, have, just as the teachers at the time, been manipulated by several people from the union committee, said Canjuga. The HDZ believes that their goal is to politicize the situation and destabilize the country. He said that the HDZ would support any solution found by the government and the railroad workers, within the frameworks of the economic stabilization of the country. Asked by a reporter what he thought about the recent Parliament decision to increase their salaries by about 70 percent, Canjuga said that the HDZ did not support irrational spending at all levels, which can be reflected in the salaries too [sentence as published].

[Box, p 4]

Ex-JNA in the Physical Plan

In the context of the denials of everything that has been achieved, the head secretary of the HDZ showed the reporters a copy of the Official Journal of the County of Primorje and Gorski Kotar of 25 November 1994, in which the ex-JNA appeared. Namely, the physical plan of the municipality of Delnice, officially issued in the journal, contains the obligation to provide physical planning for "the JNA and the all-national defense." Canjuga emphasized that it is not the HDZ that is in power in Rijeka, but the Communists.

Who Is Leading Into Yugoslavia?

The HDZ also commented on the recent appearances of Ivan Zvonimir Cicak and Dragutin Hlad (Croatian Independent Democrats) at the International Conference for the Balkans, held in Goteborg, where they again put Croatian politics into the same context with Serbian politics, claiming that it supported the division of Bosnia.

"The HDZ and the authorities have been accused of attacks on the opposition and its leaders, among which Paraga, Gotovac, and Banac were mentioned, at the moment in which these people act freely and say what they think—mostly what harms the interests of Croatia," said Canjuga. The conference title, 'The Conference for the Balkans', and the presence of representatives from Serbia, show that some politicians would like to lead Croatia into a new Yugoslavia, at the time Croatia has signed the economic agreement with the local Serbs, displaying the wish for a peaceful reintegration. The HDZ supports the implementation of the agreement.

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Crvenkovski Presents Government Program

AU2212205894 Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 21 Dec 94 p 2

[Unattributed Report on "Expose" by FYROM Government "Mandator" Branko Crvenkovski in the FYROM Parliament in Skopje; date not given: "A Government for Radical Economic Reforms"]

[FBIS Translated Text] In his address to parliament, the government mandator, Branko Crvenkovski, first congratulated the members of parliament on their election and wished them successful work. "You are facing an extremely difficult and responsible task, and I do not doubt that you will do your best to justify the confidence of the people that was demonstrated at the recent parliamentary elections. I am deeply convinced that, if at today's session, this government is given your confidence, we shall accomplish an efficient cooperation between the administrative and executive powers, in and for the interest of the Republic of Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, FYROM] and of its citizens," Crvenkovski said.

"On the basis of the election results, the parties' participation, and the personnel, a part of the public has already proclaimed this government as a government of continuity. I must admit that this assessment is true to a great extent. Actually, the strategic state and national interests of the Republic of Macedonia are not to be changed radically and redefined from one election cycle to another.

"However, regarding the practical and concrete actions and regarding what is the basic preoccupation in terms of time and space, I think that there is a big difference between the preceding government and the one that is just entering Macedonia's political scene.

"The basic milieu that the executive power was faced with two years ago was: International isolation and great political pressure, sanctions on the northern border and blockades on the southern border, a risk of political destabilization, great economic instability with high inflation, the collapse of the national currency, a fall in productivity, increasing unemployment, and the unbalanced material and energy levels within the state.

"This milieu was the reason for the main priorities in the activities of the government at that time.

"The battle for international recognition, for safeguarding peace and political stability, and for the stabilization of the economic trends in the state were the main preoccupations in the past period. From today's viewpoint, I think that this government, in this period, has the task of letting Macedonia pass the test of maturity in the eyes of the international public. We must now present high levels of political and economic endurance in the imposed conditions, and even more than that, we must be resolute that this state and this people must take their place in the international community.

"In spite of all the weaknesses and failures in the functioning of either the government as a whole or of some ministers and in spite of a number of errors—some of which have already been identified and some not—it is a fact that, during the mandate of this government, we succeeded in penetrating the international blockade and becoming a member of the United Nations, of the IMF, and the Security Council [as published]; it is a fact that we established diplomatic relations with hundreds of countries; it is a fact that, in spite of all temptations, we succeeded in safeguarding political stability and demonstrated that it was false to claim that an independent Macedonia would not endure economically for more than three months; it is a fact that we endured the sanctions and the Greek embargo, we got inflation under control under such foreign limiting conditions, we stabilized the national currency, and we found forces to commence some major investments: All this demonstrates that the government fulfilled its tasks in the main directions.

"I am telling you all this for only one reason. I want to thank the persons that I proposed for members of the government for their hitherto engagement in the cooperation that we had, and I also want to congratulate them for their courage to be ministers in a very difficult and confused period.

"I am here today as the mandator of the new government, and, beside presenting the new members, it is my constitutional right and obligation to present the program that will serve as a framework for the functioning of the executive power in the next period. I have chosen to elaborate four, in my opinion, fundamental areas: Foreign policy, the economic system, the political system, and interethnic relations."

Policy of Equal Will With the Neighbors

"The fate of small states and nations is such that, on the one hand, they have extremely limited influence on world trends and, on the other, they feel most directly the consequences of changes or disturbances in the relations between the forces. Ethically, we could say that it is unfair, inhumane, but that will not change reality. That is why it is very important for a small state to be able to make a diagnosis, to associate itself from the global tendencies, and to select the most appropriate way to protect its vital state and national interests.

"A new division of interests and influences is apparent, and we should cope with the new relations between the forces. I think that it is important to conclude that one of the focal points of this division is the Balkan region itself. A great number of postcommunist countries have entered a period of political and economic transition, firmly trusting the international principle and trusting the European democracy and the new European framework. Unfortunately, it has been demonstrated that these principles are not absolute. It was demonstrated that interests are often more important than principles in international policy. There are numerous examples that

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prove this reality. In order to avoid looking for them in the European and the world, we can only recall those that we experienced ourself. The only country of the former Yugoslavia that succeeded in avoiding war and thus helped itself, but also contributed to peace and stability in the region, is still outside the CSCE, an organization that was formed, first of all, to work for peace and security. The Republic of Greece has been keeping our southern border tightly closed for 10 months now, contrary to any international norms and principles.

"The process in the European Court is a moral satisfaction, but what can we do about the enormous economic damages that each of our citizens is experiencing to a lesser or a greater degree; there are lots of such examples and we know them very well.

"I am telling you this in order to support all those that claim that we should not expect anything from the International Community or from Europe and that we should turn toward the Balkan methods and recipes for solving the problems. On the contrary, the umbrella of the international organizations and institutions and the code of international principles and standards are the best course for the protection of the interests of small states.

"Actually, the small countries need this, not the big ones, because the big ones can use force and pressure to achieve or force out their goals and interests.

"I am telling you this for only one reason: We must project our foreign strategy on real assumptions and foundations. We must avoid the danger of debates in halls and quasi-intellectual discussions about what slice of the cake of international laws and responsibility belongs to us," Crvenkovski said.

"In the Balkans, aside from the partial interests and strategies of some countries, there are also multilateral historical constants. In certain periods in history, they were of varying intensity, they appeared in one form or another, but they never lost their essence. In order to be straightforward, I shall identify them in the easiest way. One is the idea of an Orthodox alliance, and the other is the idea of a Muslim transversal. It is our destiny that they both cross the geographical, but also political, region of the Republic of Macedonia.

"On the basis of historical experience and memory, on the basis of real political assessments, I think that it is a true fact that if one idea or the other revives, our state would not only find itself in an oppressed position, but it would be a direct danger to our survival and national identity.

"The question now is: Is it possible that our historical handicap—that everybody wanted to make us their own—can be turned into an advantage, into our historical chance? I think that we can do this and that we have created a solid base for such an achievement. Namely, the Republic of Macedonia as an independent state with a permanent determination for integration into Europe and with a policy of equally expressed will for good relations with all our neighbors (or, as it was usually called in public—a policy of equal distance), makes a balance of the interests, and we can also say, of the forces of the Balkan states. That is why the foreign policy of this government will be based on a real assessment of all the segments and on the long-term state and national interests of the Republic of Macedonia.

"This means: With the neighbors, a policy of equal will for good relations. It is not in our interest to have an a priori hostile stance toward any of our neighbors, but it is also not in our interest to give a special status to any of them in the Republic of Macedonia.

"Our intention is to establish full diplomatic relations with all our neighbors, a full cooperation on a political, economic, cultural, scientific, and security plan. We consider the borders with our neighbors to be solved, and we expect them to think so, too. The principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a state is international, and we fully accept it as our own, in both directions: We accept it in our relations toward our neighbors, but we shall use it to its full capacity if there is an opposite tendency. We shall take care about the Macedonians outside Macedonia through international organizations and institutions and in the frameworks of the international principles and standards," Crvenkovski said."

Structural Reforms

"If the main characteristic of the work of the previous government on the economic plan was survival and stabilization, the main characteristic of this government will be reforms and their radicalization.

"Our firm determination is for structural changes in the property and financial sectors, with no other alternative. If we postpone them, regardless of the motives that might cause it, the price that will have to be paid will be increased and the chances for their success will be decreased.

"You know very well that, during 1994, we implemented the Stabilization Program, on the basis of which we were given a stand- by arrangement by the IMF. The accomplishment of this program was assessed by the international financial institutions as extremely successful. Actually, a number of results have become obvious to every citizen in our state.

"After several years of extremely high, sometimes hyper, inflation, we finally succeeded last year in decreasing the inflation to 54 percent, and that is far from our projections that it would be 70 percent per year. The fall in industrial productivity was projected to be 12 percent (and here we did not include the damages caused by the Greek embargo in the calculation). Contrary to some pessimistic forecasts in the first half of the year, we have seen a significant improvement in the last several

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months, and the annual result will be better than we projected, around 10 percent. The exchange rate has shown a great stability throughout the year. We have augmented the currency reserves of the state. We have succeeded in reducing the deficit in public consumption to a great extent (the budget and social funds) from 11 percent of the gross domestic product in 1993 to 4 percent in 1994.

"On this occasion, I will touch only four segments: Privatization, the revival of the banking system, the special program for the transformation of the 25 companies that are the biggest losers, and investments as a segment of the new development policy of the Republic of Macedonia," Crvenkovski emphasized.

"After a long period of preparation, we are starting to accomplish the privatization in practice, and the first privatized companies have already been registered as such. We have also announced the sale of stocks that remained unsold during the first privatizations. Here is an evident need for a market of commercial paper, and this government's direct determination will be to create such a market. We have planned to privatize 70 to 100 companies by the end of the year.

"It will be this government's determination to privatize an additional 400 companies in the first half of 1995. We shall do our best to privatize most of the state companies by the end of next year. That, together with the present 30 percent of gross product that is created in the private sector, will make a completely different economic picture in the Republic of Macedonia.

"Parallel to the process of privatization, and with its help, we shall be solving the question of denationalization as a political, legal, economic, and ethical problem. For this purpose, this parliament will be presented with a law on denationalization in the course of the next year.

"The privatization of state property represents the most appropriate way of solving one of the greatest problems in our state—the problem of the people that have currency savings. Each of them that will voluntarily decide to do so, will be able to buy shares in state companies to the nominal amount of his currency savings.

"It is an illusion to create a healthy economic picture without a healthy banking system. The reforms in the real and financial sector cannot be done one after the other, they have to be done simultaneously. The restructuring of the banking system will mean its healing, demonopolization, and privatization.

"The first step on this plan has already been taken. The biggest banks in the state have been reviewed by eminent international analysis houses. On the basis of their reports, it has not only become clear which of the biggest banks in the Republic must start revival, but it has also defined the schedule of the actions that have to be taken in the process of the revival of the banks.

"Within the frameworks of its financial possibilities and with the Agency for the Revival of Banks, the state will participate directly in the process. It will participate in the cleaning of the contaminated balances of the banks and thus create the conditions for their capitalization and privatization. One of the key factors of engagement that will depend greatly on the total political picture in the state will be to attract potential investors.

"I estimate this to be one of the most serious and most delicate projects ahead of us. It involves big companies that have, due to various external or internal reasons, made huge losses for a long period of time. They are estimated to involve around 5 percent of the value of the gross product in the Republic, with a great number of workers facing redundancy and with a badly adapted production quality.

"The basic goal will be to restructure them defensively through profitable measures that will reduce expenditures, including labor force costs; through internal organizational restructuring that will adapt them to profitable production; and by closing non-profitable parts or entities down. The goal will be to provide the conditions for the normal functioning of the healthy parts by giving chances to those that can use additional measures to heal themselves. A particular goal will be to avoid an escalation of negative repercussions for them and for the total economy due to their misfunctioning. Since this activity is very serious, the state is obliged to bear a great part of the burden—first of all in making payments for lost jobs and creating the necessary capital for their further functioning.

"It has been estimated that it will be possible to provide sufficient finances from the budget (we are now planning 1.8 billion denars from the budget for 1995 for paying workers that have lost their jobs), from the World Bank through the special FESAL [Financial Sector and Enterprises Structural Adjustment Loan] credit, from compensation funds of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] and ECHO [expansion unknown] programs, and from the sale of unnecessary means, reserves, and parts of companies.

"There will also be changes in these companies' managements, with an appropriate participation of the state (not less than 51 percent) and with adequate measures for the necessary management restructure.

"At the end of the restructuring process, there will be their privatization.

"In spite of the extremely difficult conditions that we are faced with, we have gathered enough forces to start some huge investments. Let us recall: The railway that will link us to neighboring Bulgaria, the Kozjak hydroelectric power station, the Skopje-Bitola electricity line, the construction of a optical telecommunications line—a part of the trans-Balkan system—satellite communications, full control of the Macedonian airspace, a number of roads in the Republic, and so on.

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"We have thus started the new investment cycles that will be one of the basic tasks of the new government. The main accent in all this will be placed on investments in the infrastructure; not only for the purpose of multiplied influence on the total economy, but also a developed infrastructure means increased economic activity.

"One of the basic tasks of this government will be to elaborate a new development program for the Republic of Macedonia that will cope with the new political and economic conditions," Crvenkovski stated.

"Another IMF mission is now staying in Macedonia. Just after the New Year, a World Bank delegation is expected to arrive. We are in the final phase of the negotiations on a stand-by arrangement with the IMF and on the second loan from the World Bank dedicated to structural changes.

"I believe that it is unnecessary to give detailed explanations about the importance, the responsibility, and the great opportunity of this arrangement for us."

Depoliticization of State Administration

"I also think that it is absolutely necessary to continue and expand the reforms in the area of the political system. These reforms will be based on the achievement of the basic concept of the political system that has been defined in Macedonia's Constitution.

"I think that a special priority should be given to the draft laws in the administration and a faster adoption of a system law for the organization of the judicial system, as well as for the court procedures that should contain appropriate standards of European law. Actually, this is, among the other things, a precondition for our membership in European associations.

"With a fast and efficient completion of these reforms, we shall create the conditions for the completion of the administration as it has been projected in the Constitution, and thus we shall provide for a balance among the three powers in the state. I would here like to stress that the reform of criminal law from the aspect of the protection of human rights and the relations between the citizens and the state will have the greatest influence.

"I think that the reforms in the state administration are equally important and that they should be provided with an adequate system law that should contain several basic determinations as soon as possible. First, the state administration should be politically neutral, a professional service based on the principle of rational and efficient work. The total depoliticization of the state administration must be provided with concrete acts in the new law. We should cut possibilities for corruption and bureaucracy, and this service should be organized on a high professional level and become a real service for all the citizens in the state," said Crvenkovski.

"The definition of the local self-management is equally important. I can mention several reasons for this. However, I think that it is of utmost importance to provide for the citizens' right to local self-management and their direct participation in the decision-making in this sphere. Actually, we are committed to it by the constitutional concept. By doing this, we shall expand the democratic structures in the state. Secondly, the local self- management will enable the solution of a great number of questions regarding interethnic relations and the rights of the nationalities within the frameworks of the constitutional concept. We shall thus build in all solutions from this area that have given positive results in practice so far, particularly the solutions from the European Charter on local self-management. Of course, after the adoption of this law, we shall also propose a law on a new territorial division.

"With the reforms in the political system, we shall create the conditions for a real fulfillment of the rights of the citizens and for an efficient functioning of all democratic institutions. In doing this, we must clearly define the limits of state actions in the privacy of the citizens and provide legal limitations for this.

"I am aware that the essential stability of democratic institutions relies, first of all, on the political maturity of the citizens, which depends on their individuality, but also on the rights and freedoms that they enjoy in a civil society. Here, I see a key role for the free mass media.

"Interethnic relations have, so far—as they will in the future—represented one of the cornerstones of the stability of Macedonia. Actually, this is not just our characteristic.

"Look at Europe, not only Eastern Europe. All conflicts and wars develop on an ethnic, and often a religious, base.

"Macedonia is a state in which Macedonians, Albanians, Turks, Romanies, Vlachs, and Serbs live; it is a state in which Orthodox Christians, but also Muslims and Catholics live....

"This is our reality, and this should be the starting point in making assessments, determinations, policy....

"There can be no peace for Macedonia if we do not generally accept the fact that it is common, unique, indivisible fatherland that belongs equally to all its citizens regardless of their national, religious, or political affiliations.

"The Balkans is a region where everybody is burdened with their national identity, with its protection and promotion. It often causes misunderstandings. The question is whether it is possible to find a solution, a common point, a criterium that, on the one hand enables the development of national identity, while on the other overcomes all possible misunderstandings.

"In my opinion, it is possible, and that relationship leads toward a common state, a common fatherland.

"If we agree that stability and peace in Macedonia represent a common interest of all its citizens, that the

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territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Republic of Macedonia is the common concern and interest, if we all want to see Macedonia as an internationally recognized and respected country, if we want Macedonia to be a state governed by laws in which the Constitution and laws are respected, if we want to construct the country in economic prosperity, which means that if all the previously mentioned matters are of interest, and I am deeply convinced that they are in the interest of all the citizens of Macedonia, regardless of their national affiliation, then we have arrived at a criterium that will be applied by this government.

"What I would like to stress as my personal satisfaction is the fact that in this parliament there are members from all the nationalities in our state.

"Here, in the highest administrative body of the Republic of Macedonia, all different opinions and interests should be faced.

"There is only one alternative to the solution of all problems through the institutions of the system—the worst, and it is something that no diligent, informed person, regardless of his nationality, could wish for.

"When, more than two years ago, I proposed the previous government, I and all the others that supported my proposal were accused for creating an unnatural coalition. We were accused of having only one motive—to gain power and to keep it.

"Today, the election results leave no possibilities for doubts. In spite of the majority in parliament, I am still proposing a government in which the PDP [Party for Democratic Prosperity] will participate. It means that this has nothing to do with a wish for power, but for a political stance.

"Macedonia is the common state, and we should construct it together and protect it with the administrative, but also the executive power," Branko Crvenkovski said in ending.

[Box, p 2]

European Integration

"The European integration of the Republic of Macedonia is not only our political objective, but also a strategic interest," Crvenkovski emphasized. "It is a determination that will be not only interwoven in the physiognomy of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but also in all other areas, in all the departments of the government. It is not just our efforts to become a member of the Council of Europe, of the CSCE, of GATT—the World Trade Organization—our preparation for an agreement on economic and technical cooperation with the European Union, our admission into the "Partnership for Peace" and then into NATO, but a serious acceptance of European norms and standards and the adaptation of our laws to the laws of the European Union.

"That is why this government's principle will be to provide the opinion of international experts on all important legal projects.

"It is neither modest nor pretentious if we say that our ultimate goal is to associate the Republic of Macedonia with the European Union."

[Box, p 2]

Minimum Social Price for the Reforms

"The main challenge for this government will be not whether to accept the road to radicalization of the economic reforms (I consider this question to be solved), but whether the government will succeed in paying the minimum social price for their implementation. In this sense, 1995 will be the key year for two reasons: First, because a great part of the social price will have to be paid in this period, and second, because next year we must definitely stop the many-year-long fall in productivity as an indispensable condition for a real stabilization of the economic trends and for gradual economic growth in the future."

New Japanese Envoy Presents Credentials

AU2212161994 Skopje MIC in English 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Excerpt] His Excellence Mr. Cuyoshi Kurokawa [name as received], first Japanese ambassador to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia], with headquarters in Vienna, yesterday submitted the copies of his credentials to Macedonian Foreign Minister Stevo Crvenkovski. [passage omitted]

Today, Ambassador Kurokawa is expected to hand over his credentials to the president of the republic, Kiro Gligorov.

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Federal

Sanctions Cause $100 Million Damage to JRB

LD2312104894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1021 GMT 23 Dec 94

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 23 (TANJUG)—The international sanctions have caused losses to Yugoslav river shipping (JRB) exceeding 100 million dollars, while indirect damage is even bigger.

JRB director Dusan Strugar said Friday the company's annual revenue was lower than in the worst month before the sanctions were imposed.

The United Nations Security Council imposed sanctions against the Yugoslav Federation of Serbia and Montenegro in late May 1992 due to its alleged involvement in the civil war in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Immediately the sanctions are lifted JRB could engage almost one half of its fleet in international traffic but only if between 10-15 million dollars are secured, Strugar said.

Strugar said that before the sanctions JRB had met all its international obligations.

Strugar said growing interest rates had caused JRB's 100,000-dollar debt, mainly to Ukraine for maintenance of a part of JRB's fleet there, to swell almost four-fold.

He said the debt could not be repayed because the sanctions had almost completely halted financial transactions.

Envoy to UN Responds to Tudjman Speech

LD2212232694 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2254 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] New York, Dec. 22 (Tanjug)—Yugoslav Ambassador to the U.N. Dragomir Djokic Thursday said Croatia had started the 'ethnic cleansing' operations in former Yugoslavia.

In a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Butros Butros-Ghali, Djokic warned that the first and certainly most numerous victims of ethnic cleansing in the former Yugoslavia were Serbs who lived in Croatia.

Djokic's letter is an answer to a speech by Croatian President Franjo Tudjman to the third committee session of the U.N. General Assembly.

At the session, Tudjman had accused the Yugoslav Government and certain individuals in Serbia of having planned and led a policy of aggression and genocide.

In order to satisfy its internal political requirements and cover up its own responsibility, Croatia does not cease to distort facts about the developments in the former Yugoslavia, Djokic said in his letter.

Djokic substantiated these claims with concrete facts.

Djokic said that about 350,000 Serbs have been banished from Croatia since June 1, 1991, and that 279 Serb places of worship in five eparchies of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Croatia have been destroyed or damaged.

The letter, which will be circulated as an official U.N. document, stresses that about 10,000 Serb children in Croatia have been converted to the Catholic faith within the ethnic cleansing operations.

Serbs are traditionally Orthodox and Croats Catholics.

Djokic also commented on Croatia's accusations that Bosnia-Herzegovina, torn by a civil war of Muslims, Serbs and Croats for almost three years, has been ethnically cleansed.

He said more than 700,000 Bosnian Serbs had been forced to abandon their homes. More than 420,000 of them have found refuge in the Bosnian Serb Republic and about 280,000 are in Yugoslavia, Djokic said in his letter to Butros-Ghali.

Government Proposes Higher Budget for 1995

LD2212172094 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1610 GMT 22 Dec 94

["Ecopool" item]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 22 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Finance Minister Jovan Zebic on Thursday said the Yugoslav Government had proposed for 1995 a new federal budget of 2,128,000,000 dinars (2,128,000,000 German marks at the official rate.)

Zebic told the Yugoslav parliament's upper house that the draft 1995 budget was 26.3 percent higher than the 1994 one.

The Yugoslav Government had initially proposed a budget of 2,115,000,000 dinars (2,115,000,000 German marks) for 1995.

Zebic said the higher budget expenditures for 1995 were intended to finance the University of Pristina, capital of Serbia's southern province of Kosovo and Metohija, the housing development in that province, maritime shipping, pension benefits and the media which have broadcasts for abroad.

Zebic said 76 percent of the proposed budget was intended for the Army of Yugoslavia.

Yugoslav Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic said in the Yugoslav Parliament that the funds planned for the Army were inadequate, although they were 26.2 percent higher than this year's.

76 Percent for Defense

LD2212183894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1658 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—The Chamber of Republics of the federal parliament tonight adopted a draft budget for 1995 to the tune of 2.128 million dinars.

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The draft budget was supported by 23 votes and rejected by two votes.

The largest amount in the budget—76.2 percent—is earmarked for the Yugoslav Army. The rest is channeled to federal organs and organizations, pension funds, material expenses, and special purposes.

Bulatovic Gives Details

LD2212163294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1335 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—Federal Defense Minister Pavle Bulatovic said at a Federal Assembly session today that the funds from the next year's budget earmarked for the Yugoslav army were less than needed, although they are up on this year's funds by 334 million dinars or 26.2 percent.

Explaining the military part of the budget to the deputies of the Chamber of Republics, he said that 1 billion and 611 million dinars were earmarked for the defense system of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia in 1995. This is 7.5 percent of the gross domestic product and 76.2 percent of the federal budget.

He said that this amount includes the funds for the federal Defense Ministry and pensions for military personnel amounting to 298 million dinars or 18.5 percent. The pensions for military personnel are part of the military budget although they do not have any impact on the level of the combat readiness of the Yugoslav army, which means that the military budget in fact takes up 62 percent of the federal budget.

Bulatovic added that the Army's estimated needs for next year are 2 billion and 465 million dinars, which means that under the proposal the army is 856 million dinars short.

"It is obvious that this is an austerity budget," Bulatovic said. He added that wages, quartermaster supplies, health care, training, and equipment maintenance will have priority.

The minister stressed that the funds allocated for defense are far from "desirable and far from what is needed" and that "they just about meet the requirement." He added that the state's economic potential had been taken into account much more than the "military and political situation in the immediate surrounding area and beyond."

At the end of his speech Bulatovic invited the deputies to endorse the proposed budget and adopt a special amendment on the revision of the needs and financing later in the year, depending on the conditions under which the Yugoslav Army would carry out its constitutional duties.

Lower House Rejects Bill on Political Parties

LD2212182394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1747 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec. 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav parliament's lower house on Thursday failed to pass a bill on political parties proposed by the federal government. The bill received only 68 votes in the Chamber of Citizens which has a total of 138 seats. The bill was sharply criticized by opposition deputies who insisted that the proposal be withdrawn by the government because it regulated only technicalities concerning the registration of political parties.

Opposition deputies said it was absolutely necessary that the bill cover the freedom of association since as things were now the Yugoslav Constitutional Court could outlaw any political party whose activities were not in the interest of the ruling party.

Opposition deputies said that the proposal according to which a 100 signatures were sufficient to found a party was in the interest of the ruling party because a large number of small and insignificant parties suited it. They said 1,000 signatures would be an optimal and reasonable solution, since it would mean that there would be fifteen parties or so. Opposition deputies opposed also the government proposal that the financing of parties from abroad be banned. They said it was high time that successful Yugoslavs abroad, who were the only serious contributors of funds, stop being treated as hostile emigres and the parties receiving money from them be treated as traitors.

The only ruling Socialist Party of Serbia deputy who took part in the debate, party Vice President Goran Percevic said the bill should be passed because the solutions it proposed would stimulate political pluralism.

Serbia

Commentary Says World Heard 'Truth' From Carter

AU2212174594 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 94 p 5

[Commentary by S. Gavric: "Carter's Sin"]

[FBIS Translated Text] "The American people have mainly listened to one side of the story about the war between the Serbs and the Muslims. Today is perhaps one of the rare occasions for the world to hear the truth and to understand that the Serbs are ready to accept the peace agreement."

What heresy, and coming out of the mouth of an American; and, on top of that, the American is Jimmy Carter!

Dee Dee Myers, the White House spokeswoman, reacted immediately and rejected Carter's claim: "The Bosnian Serbs are the aggressor's in this war. I think that the American people have had a chance to see what is happening on the ground and to hear both sides of the story." The German diplomatic representative immediately stated that this was just Carter's "show business,"

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while the Russian one said that Carter should not be taken too seriously, and so on.

Carter's sin is all the greater because—at the insistence of the White House—he first visited Sarajevo and talked with Izetbegovic and Silajdzic. Before Sarajevo he was in Zagreb, where he held talks with their leader Tudjman. His first sin was that—disregarding advice—he went to Pale at all. His second sin is that he made the said statement even before he held talks in Pale. His greatest sin is that he said that there was a second side to the story and that the Serbs wanted peace!

Therefore, when it comes to the attitude of the world powers toward the former Yugoslavia, nothing has changed: There is one God and one truth—the Serbs are the aggressors. Any deviation from that is a sin, an unforgivable heresy!

As for us here, we noticed a long time ago that "God" and his bigger and smaller "saints" had horns, tails, hoofs, and other devilish features poking out from under their saintly robes. There is also an increasing number of people in the world who are beginning to notice that. However, the new masters of war and peace never paid any attention to this. Still, they had to take notice of Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, because he is a man who has had two relatively successful "semi-official" peace missions in North Korea and Haiti. It remains to be seen how they will explain to "their people" his "peaceful and moral U-turn" when it comes to Bosnia and the Serbs.

Of course, an explanation will be found. It is an altogether different issue how much "the people" will believe it. In any case, as far as we are concerned, something good has come out of all this: Carter has considerably widened the gap in the firm fence surrounding the Serbs, and now the other side of the truth about the clashes in the former Yugoslavia will surge out into the world more forcefully.

Contact Group Meets Serb Opposition Leader

LD2212180894 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade, 22 December (TANJUG)—Members of the Contact Group today talked to the chairman of the Serbian Renaissance Movement [Srpski Pokret Obnove, SPO], Vuk Draskovic, about the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and conditions for lifting sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro, the SPO information council reports.

The members of the Contact Group conveyed the international community's view on these matters and described the SPO's peace proposals explained by Draskovic as "constructive and valuable", the statement says.

The SPO chairman stressed that the lifting of sanctions on Serbia and Montenegro and international support for the state's economic renewal would bring about the decisive defeat of those favoring war and the decisive victory for those favoring peace both in the Srpska republic and Serbia, the SPO reports.

Draskovic stressed that the international community should no longer turn a blind eye to the fact that Croatia's regular troops were involved on the Bosnian battlefield and that it was duty-bound to do something about this.

In its statement the SPO says that Draskovic was told that the five member-countries of the Contact Group would demand the UN Security Council lift sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro the moment the leadership in Pale accepted the contact group's peace plan, and the economic agreement signed by Croatia and Serb Krajina was implemented.

Djindjic Expects Russian Involvement in B-H

AU2312105594 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 94 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Djindjic Announces Russia's New Involvement in Bosnia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zoran Djindjic, president of the Democratic Party, announced yesterday afternoon that he expects positive results from his talks in Moscow on Russia's involvement in the current stage of the peace process in Bosnia.

Speaking at a news conference at Belgrade airport immediately on his return from Moscow, Djindjic said that he held talks with Yegor Gaydar, leader of Russia's Choice, and Konstantin Nikiforov, adviser of Russian President Boris Yeltsin for the so-called Serbian question.

"My task was to brief the Russian partners on the background of the initiative of the former U.S. President Jimmy Carter, to brief them on the current state of affairs, and the ideas of the RS [Serbian Republic] leadership so that the peace process could continue," Djindjic said.

RSK Defense Minister: Sovereign State Solution

AU2212204694 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 22 Dec 94

[Interview with Defense Minister Rade Tanjga by Zeljko Avramovic in Belgrade on 22 December—recorded]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Avramovic] Mr. Tanjga, after three full years, this is the first time you have traveled from Okucani to Belgrade on the [Zagreb-Belgrade] highway. What was the trip like?

[Tanjga] I, as defense minister, and General Peters, chief of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] for the entire operation, can confirm that this highway is safe and can be used for travel.

[Avramovic] Three checkpoints have to be passed from Okucani to Belgrade. What is the procedure like?

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[Tanjga] Yes, we were checked in two locations by the Croatian police, and in one place—I should say that perhaps it should not have been there—it was more of a routine control, and the people were perhaps a bit unstable [nestalozen], but I would not put this down as an objection by our side to their behavior. They were extremely correct. The main checkpoint is before Lipovac on the Croatian side, and of course by UNPROFOR, and that is the only place where the checkpoint will be.

[Avramovic] The opening of the Belgrade-Zagreb highway is confirmation of the commitment of the people and the leadership of the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] to peace.

[Tanjga] The people of the RSK are committed to peace, are committed to the achievement of their goals through peaceful means. We, of course, are not saying with this that we will not oppose every act of aggression by Croatia—we are prepared for that—but we know that our people are existentially committed to finding a final solution, and the final solution for us is the RSK as a sovereign state [recording ends abruptly].

Draskovic: Bosnian War To Continue in Spring

AU2212161594 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 21 Dec 94 p 5

[Report by D. Banjac: "Logic of Sweet Promises"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Belgrade—"Former U.S. President Jimmy Carter is coming to Belgrade from Pale, the representatives of the Contact Group for Bosnia are here, perhaps Owen and Stoltenberg will come, and the impression is that a day of historic importance is in front of us. However, this is only yet another failed promenade by the diplomatic world, and peace is still far away," Vuk Draskovic, chairman of the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], said at yesterday's news conference.

"If the cameras were to record the queues in front of the Embassies of Canada, Australia, the United States, the Czech Republic, and so on, the true picture of our hopelessness would emerge," Draskovic said, stressing that "not only are certain deputies applying to emigrate from Serbia, but farmers are, too." "However," he continued, "this is not discussed by those who should discuss it, and half a million of the best people have quietly left Serbia. A broadly grinning Karadzic saw off a broadly grinning Carter, there will be plenty of grins in Belgrade, but I do not believe that peace is close at hand. Perhaps temporarily, but in spring, when the woods are green again, the war will continue, and they will try to drag Serbia into it."

"Two days ago in Athens, Milosevic spoke about the war in Bosnia with the leaders of all the Greek opposition parties, which he never does here, and the Contact Group is behaving in the same way. There are only two men for them—Milosevic and Karadzic—and these two men and a handful of foreigners will represent the entire Serbian nation for a long time yet, it seems. A different kind of logic is on the scene now, a logic of sweet promises."

The SPO chairman expressed pessimism regarding the acceptance of the peace plan and the end to the war in Bosnia, "which the world has given up. The decision is to let us bleed." Asked why the world was not negotiating with the Serbs in Bosnia that live on territories under the control of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, Draskovic said that the world "is bypassing them, but no one is ignoring them more than the authorities here and the representatives of the Serbs in Bosnia for whom they are 'Alija's Serbs.'"

The SPO members will not be returning to the assembly because of the embargo on the television coverage of the sessions, while they will defend "the only outcome of 9 March," although they are aware that they will be betrayed by the same people "who betrayed us on 9 March."

Sandzak Muslims Claim Serbs Terrorizing Bozniaks

LD2212230194 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Text] The Army of the self-styled Yugoslavia continues terrorizing and intimidating the Bosniaks [Muslims] in Sandzak. On 17 December this year the Army sent all able-bodied Serbs from the Tutin municipality [southwest of Novi Pazar] and originally from that area, now living in towns in Sumadija and Pomoravlje, to a military exercise in the territory of the Tutin municipality, a statement from the Muslim National Council of Sandzak [Muslimansko nacionalno vijece Sandzaka] says. The exercise was used to demonstrate force. Serbs armed to their teeth and donning different insignia came out of their houses with arms and gathered at several locations in the town and surrounding villages.

Goverment To Freeze Salaries Until March 1995

LD2312010894 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2356 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, 22 Dec (TANJUG)—The Serbian Government on Thursday decided to freeze all salaries and pensions at the November level.

This is one of the measures recently announced by National Bank Governor Dragoslav Avramovic, aimed at ensuring the successful implementation of the economic policy for 1995.

This and other subsequent measures have been coordinated between the Yugoslav prime minister, Serbian and Montenegrin premiers and the National Bank governor.

The republican government statement said that under the Serbian Government Act, salaries, pensions and

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other income from pension and invalid insurance plans were temporarily frozen at the November (?level).

The act will be in effect until March 1995 and should coordinate [word indistinct] in the living standard with realistic possibilities and remove the danger of a (?possible) deficit in the national budget and funds, the statement said.

Power Official: Electrical System Facing Collapse

LD2212164394 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1600 GMT 22 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Belgrade, Dec 22 (TANJUG)—Serbian power industry officials on Thursday said the republic's electrical system faced collapse. The officials said the measures taken so far to reduce electricity consumption had proved inadequate and the consumption was 'still rising due to a continued drop in temperatures and strong winds.'

The power industry officials said the United Nations Security Council sanctions against Yugoslavia had severely affected the electricity production. They said the U.N. Sanctions Committee had failed to approve Russian humanitarian natural gas deliveries to Yugoslavia, which would have been used for heating purposes.

The power industry representatives said the current three-hour power cuts for consumers divided into five groups should be prolonged to seven-hour cuts twice a day. If the proposal is approved by the Serbian Government, about three million households in Serbia will be without electricity for 10 or 14 hours a day.

The Serbian Chamber of Commerce Energy Committee on Wednesday said the republican government should declare a general electricity shortage. The Committee said it was necessary to eliminate major disparities in fuel prices and raise the prices of electricity.

Member of Serbia's power industry board of managers Stanisa Paunovic said, 'no measure, not even immediate price hikes, can solve the problem right away' and increase the electricity production. Paunovic said 'only more favourable weather conditions can guarantee a maximum output of all power plants.'

An unidentified perpetrator late on Wednesday threw a hand grenade at the building of the electricity company in the town of Subotica in Serbia's northern province of Vojvodina. Fortunately there were no casulaties. According to unofficial reports, the grenade was tossed from a moving car. An investigation is underway.

Temerin Residents Protest

AU2212164794 Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 20 Dec 94 p 11

[Report by A. Bubnjevic and S. Camber: "Darkness Has Eaten Electricity"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Yesterday morning, several hundred embittered residents of Temerin gathered at the school playground. They quickly dispersed, but the protest continued in Backi Jarak, where they erected barricades and stopped traffic toward Temerin. The reason for this protest meeting was the residents' enormous dissatisfaction with living conditions, above all, as they told us, with the torture of the EPS [Power Engineering Industry of Serbia] and daily power cuts that last several hours. As soon as electricity is disconnected, there is no water or gas for heating, and coal and wood are expensive. [passage omitted]

Nis Residents Protest

AU2212130294 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 19 Dec 94

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Nis, 19 Dec—The leadership of Nis today resolutely demanded that the director general of the Power Engineering Industry of Serbia be held accountable for not adhering to his promise that restrictions will not affect those who reduce the use of electricity within their quota.

Nis has complied with the allowable quota of daily consumption of 5.6 million kw, and has even managed to save 3.1 percent of electricity, and yet it has been punished with regular disconnections from the grid, which lasted uninterruptedly between nine and 24 hours in some parts of the town.

The indignant citizens last night erected barricades in several locations in the town, turning over containers and setting fire to car tires.

The town's leadership demanded that the agreement on non-disconnection of electricity to those who are saving it be fully respected, and has asked the Power Engineering Industry not to apply cuts, except for those consumers who exceed the use of electricity. [passage omitted]

Nis Situation Improves

AU2212171994 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 94 p 10

[Report by Z. Miladinovic: "Political Tensions Rising"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Nis—In the entire heavenly Serbia, which has recently been more or less in the dark, the only uprising of the people occurred where it was the least expected by the moderately informed public. Last weekend found Nis (which is normally considered to be "the most stable Socialists' stronghold") under barricades, erected in about 20 locations in the city. When it appeared that all hell was about to break loose, the city and the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS] leadership in Nis issued an order to the Electricity Distribution Board to stop implementing the reduction scheme in Nis, except for the consumers that overstepped the prescribed quota,

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and that in such a way that no household could be without electricity for longer than three hours a day.

And so it was. There was enough electricity in Nis yesterday, and only the consumers who used more electricity than they should have done were disconnected, without counting the disconnections caused by damage, which were repaired relatively quickly. Teams of experts promptly repaired the outages caused by damage, of which there are some 100 on average a day. People are already beginning to forget the fact that—before the mass erection of the barricades—the same teams used to take over 48 hours to repair the damage. [passage omitted]

Protest Rally for 24 Dec

AU2212151594 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Dec 94 p 10

[Report by B. Lazukic: "Against the Forces of Darkness"]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] "With Light Against Darkness" is the title of a poster inviting the residents of Novi Sad to gather in front of the Miletic Monument on Friday [24 December] and start a "protest march against darkness." With a message to bring candles with them, the residents of Novi Sad were thus addressed by the "committee for the organization of the protest against darkness," although it is still completely unclear as to who is behind this call for an organized protest against the forced electricity restrictions that have seriously affected the residents of Novi Sad, particularly the announcement of six-hour outages. The comment of the residents of Novi Sad, who approve of this move, boils down to the conclusion that the authorities have been yearning for the "forces of darkness and chaos," and that they have finally gotten them thanks to their own incompetence and the "darkness" into which they have been pulling us by force. [passage omitted]

The road that leads through Backi Jarak (near Novi Sad) has recently been blocked with metric tons of meat that went bad after freezers were deprived of electricity. Moreover, there are also still-unconfirmed reports that, in some places in Vojvodina, "kasikara" bombs [as published] were thrown at the premises of the electricity distribution services. [passage omitted]

[Box, p 10]

Leaflet

The League of Social Democrats of Vojvodina has printed a leaflet that is being distributed in the town "from hand to hand" or put in mailboxes. The leaflet reads:

"There is electricity. It is being exported to Macedonia [The Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia] so that the Skopje steel mill could complete work for the Smederevo steel mill, and this is aimed at buying social peace in that large organization. There is electricity, but it being exported to Croatia so that it can deliver oil through its oil pipelines on which those in power earn enormous amounts of money, which they are putting in their own pockets. There is electricity, but with constant outages and our misery they are trying to make the international community sorry for us and allow the delivery of the Russian natural gas, which those in power will still sell to us a high price and thus get rich at the expense of our misery. We all remember that we paid [word indistinct] voluntary contributions for Drmno and a number of other power stations. Their opening was used to make "ardent" speeches, to find "culprits" for their own incompetence, and to call for war. These power stations now serve someone else and not those who built them with their money." This was stated in a leaflet with the warning that "this is not politics, but self-defense."

Kosovo

Rugova Considers U.S. Trip 'Most Successful'

AU2312102594 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English 22 Dec 94 No 514

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Albanian television has conducted a one-hour live interview with Dr. Ibrahim Rugova, president of the Republic of Kosova, following his long trip to several European countries. The text of the interview was carried by the BUJKU newspaper on Tuesday. Dr. Ibrahim Rugova assessed his last visit to the United States "among the most successful ones to that country." He said United States have given Kosova strong support, and made mention of all his meetings with high-ranking U.S. officials (Strobe Talbott, Anthony Lake, Madam Albright, Robert Dole, and others).

Kosova President said he saw the United States's resolve to prevent a conflict break-out in Kosova, which would result in grave implications for the entire region.

Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said German Foreign Minister Klaus Kinkel had assured him that Germany would support the Kosova question towards a political settlement of the issue. Dr. Rugova recalled that he had important meetings with the Netherlands and Swiss foreign ministers as well as the chairman of the CSCE Assembly, and thanked all for their kind welcome and sympathy for the plight of Kosova.

President Rugova of Kosova said he had been calling for a kind of civilian international administration in Kosova, as an interim phase, and has found understanding among his collocutors in the United States and the European countries, although he was aware that the old provisions for classical protectorate of the UN Charter were seen a bit out of fashion.

The resolution on Kosova adopted last week by the Third Committee of the UN Assembly is a "very important document," said Dr. Rugova, underscoring that this

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forum has thus brought Kosova to the agenda and calls for restoration of Kosova institutions.

In a question put forward by a spectator as to what could be done in case the Serbs instigate a conflict in Kosova, the president of the Republic of Kosova said: "We are in Kosova and we are resisting such a possibility through our organization and by maintaining life, which is very important... We are in Kosova, we are organized and we resist. We are doing everything so that such a thing (a conflict breakout, KIC) does not happen."

Asked to comment on the stance of Great Britain, France, and Russia towards Kosova, Dr. Ibrahim Rugova said he does not want to view things in the context of the old alliances, now that the Berlin Wall has fallen. A new order is being created, he said, and added that the United States, France, Great Britain, and other countries of the EU [European Union] are engaged towards this new international order. These positions of these countries towards Kosova is favorable, Dr. Rugova said, adding that contacts with Russia have been scarce because of the grave ideological or political experience, and pointed out that Deputy Russian Foreign Minister, Vitaliy Churkin, visited Prishtina last year.

President of the Republic of Kosova replied to many questions concerning Kosova, from the internal and outside position alike.

KUJ Protests Latest Serb Police Repression

AU2212175894 Pristina KOSOVA DAILY REPORT in English No 513 21 Dec 94

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The Kosova Union of Journalists (KUJ) issued yesterday a statement in connection with the latest ill-treatments and repression of the Serbian police against the Albanian journalists in Kosova.

"The repression" says the statement, "is exercised in order to stifle the impartial information of the Albanian journalists in Kosova, primarily the journalists who report from around Kosova."

KUJ quotes as horrendous examples of this wild repression campaign the beating and frequent ill-treatment of the RILINDJA/BUJKU correspondents Curr Mazrrekaj from Degan, Jusuf Salihu from Podujeva, Riza Grejgevci from Gllogovc and others. The statement has also been sent to the International Federation of Journalists based in Brussels and the European Council, today's BUJKU reports.

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